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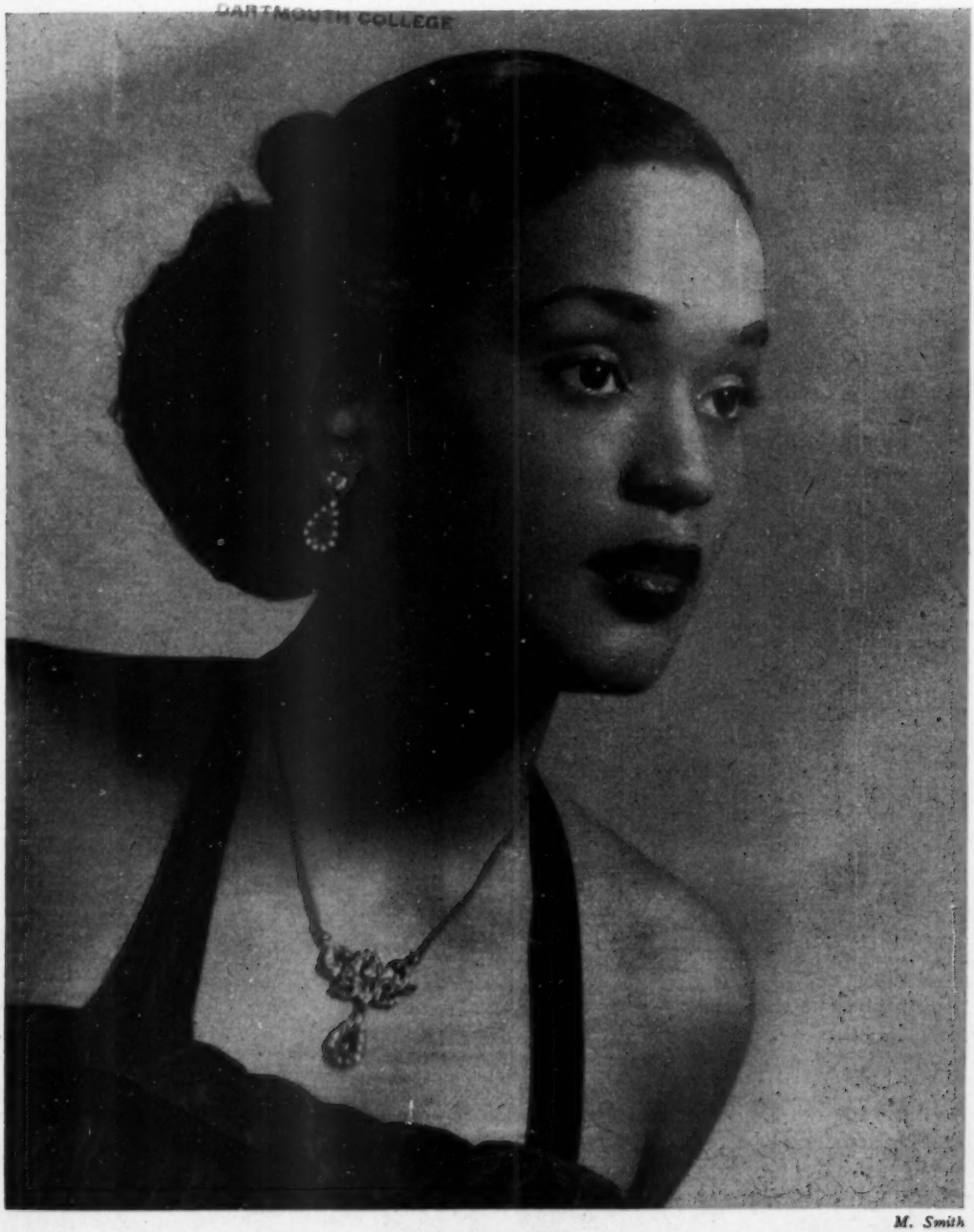

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Vol. 55, No. 6 Whole Number 450

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EDITORIAL ROUNDUP

COVER—Elaine Greenwish, who is a product of the College of the City of New York, studied the piano for eight years and devoted much time to drama, the modern dance, and journalism. After dabbling in these for a few years, she gave them up in favor of singing.

•

MIRIAM A. HUFFMAN (Mrs. Palmer C. Hayden) is a free lance writer who has long been interested in civic movements and the possibilities for democratic growth in the areas of intercultural education. She makes her home in New York City.

•

NEWBOLD MORRIS, who is a lawyer, is a former member of the Board of Aldermen, 1934-1937, New York City and a one-time president, 1938-1946, of the Council of the City of New York. He is now in private law practice as a member of the firm of Post, Morris and Lovejoy, New York City.

•

SACHIYE MIZUKI is secretary of the Bucknell university, Lewisburg, Penn., chapter of the NAACP.

•

ELLIS WILSON, commented the May 16 issue of the New York *Herald Tribune*, "combines sensuousness with taste, and it [his coloring] attains a high point in the foreground of his 'Drying Nets.' The elemental strength in his bold and simple forms is readily felt as in the simple but impressive 'Sisters.' Other good oils are the 'Edisto Family' and the effective 'White Sands.'"

"Wilson," writes the New York *Times*, "employs a few massive figures of fisher folk spontaneously posed at their labors. His intense colors and simple outlines invest them with almost heroic proportions and great simple dignity."

•

EMILY P. CASTIGLIONE, long interested in William Jackson, Jr., lives in Columbia, Missouri.

•

ARTHUR E. BURKE (who reviews *Jadie Greenway*, at page 187) is an associate professor of English at Hampton Institute, Virginia.

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COLLEGE and SCHOOL NEWS

AGRICULTURAL & TECHNICAL COLLEGE (Greensboro, N. C.) had thirteen students to distinguish themselves during the winter quarter by earning the perfect quality point average of 3.00 for the term. Of the 81 students on the "A" honor roll 16 were seniors, 16 juniors, 23 sophomores, and 26 freshmen.

Among recent speakers at the college have been Dr. William Stuart Nelson, dean of the school of religion, Howard; Gerhart H. Seger, former member of the German Reichstag; and Arthur W. Mitchell, one-time Democratic congressman from Illinois. Horticulture students from the school of agriculture conducted their first annual flower show in April, a three-day event directed by W. A. Blount and J. W. R. Grandy, members of the college horticultural society. Highlight of the show was a series of short-course lectures on various phases of flower growing and arrangement by Frederick H. Gerber, horticultural expert from Cornell university.

Army Day was observed at the college with an address by President F. D. Bluford, a parade, demonstrations in the handling of military equipment, and awards to ROTC cadets.

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE celebrated Pan-American day April 14 with a colorful fiesta given under the sponsorship of the department of romance languages. An outstanding feature of the program was the singing of native Mexican, Cuban, Panamanian, and West Indian Calypso songs by the students.

Other campus activities include the annual guide-right program under the auspices of the Tau chapter of the Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity, with Rev. Leon Sullivan of New York City as guest speaker, April 11; visit of the noted American painter Grant Reynard, April 15-16; observation of Negro health week, April 4-11; annual inspection of the Reserve Officers Training Corps of the college, April 30; fourteenth annual woman's day program, with Shirley Graham as guest speaker, May 2; and a piano recital by Joseph Grider of the music department, April 25.

For eleven years now the college has been running a very successful mining extension service, created by an act of the West Virginia legislature March 9, 1937. This service enables Negro miners to prepare themselves for higher jobs in the mines. Instructors organize and teach classes with the help of mine officials and leaders in the community and classes meet for three and one-fourth hours once each week for thirty-two hours, beginning the first week in October and ending the last week in May.

There are between 20,000 and 25,000 Negro miners engaged in coal mining in the state, representing one-fifth of the total number of miners employed. Since 1937 the college has enrolled more than 5,000 of them in its classes, about 50 percent of whom completed their training. More than six percent of those completing their training have been certified as mine foremen and firebosses.

At the annual meeting of the trustees of ATLANTA UNIVERSITY in April, the board voted to name the university library the Trevor Arnett Library, in honor of the chairman of the board, Trevor Arnett of New York City. A former president of the General Education Board, Mr. Arnett is also the president of the Spelman board and a member of the board of Morehouse.

The high tribute and signal honor paid to Mr. Arnett is an outgrowth of his invaluable assistance to Negro education over a long period of years and particularly his cooperation and helpfulness in the development of the Atlanta university system. It was due to Mr. Arnett's active leadership in promoting the affiliation of these colleges that the grant for the library was made in 1930.

Judges at the seventh annual exhibition of contemporary Negro art sponsored by the university awarded the top cash purchase prize of $300 to Rose Piper of New York City for her figure painting, "Grievin' Hearted." Miss Piper, who has held a one-woman exhibition at the Roko Gallery, studied at the Art Students League under Kuniyoshi and Vytlacil, and she held a Rosenwald scholarship in 1946 and 1947.

The John Hope purchase award of $250 for the best landscape went to Henry Bannard of South Minneapolis, Minn., for his painting in oil, "Louisiana Nocturne." Another winner in oils was Jacob Lawrence, Guggenheim fellowship winner of Brooklyn, N. Y.

Press Association

FIRST NEGRO *to be named law clerk to a Supreme Court Justice is* **WILLIAM T. COLEMAN, JR.**, *26, of Philadelphia. Mr. Coleman, a graduate of the Harvard law school and a veteran of World War II, has been appointed a law clerk to Justice Felix Frankfurter.*

who took the first Atlanta university purchase award of $150 for his semi-abstract, "Playland." The well-known New York sculptor Richmond Barthé won the first Edward B. Alford award of $250 for his stone-cast mask "Christina."

Eighteen selected conferees met in a two-day meeting at the university April 22-23 in a conference on supply of Negro physicians with special emphasis upon premedical education. Alarmed at the high rate of rejection of Negro applicants for admission to medical schools, the conferees met to explore ways and means of improving both the quantity and quality of Negro applicants to medical schools. Among the experts who led in the discussion were Dr. Martin Jenkins, professor of education at Howard; Dr. Michael Bent of Meharry Medical College; Dr. Charles R. Drew, professor of surgery at Howard; Dr. John Lattimore, president of the National Medical Association; and Mary Switzer, representing the Federal Security Agency.

Sixty-seventh anniversary of SPELMAN COLLEGE was observed April 11, with Dean Harry James Carmen of Columbia college as the guest speaker. Also participating in the program were

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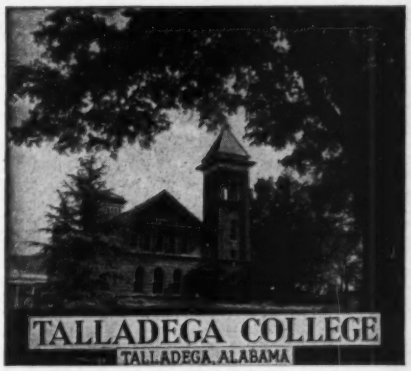

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President James Ross McCain of Agnes Scott college; President Benjamin E. Mays of Morehouse; and President Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta. Music was furnished by the Spelman glee club.

New members of the Spelman board of trustees are Mrs. Catherine Hughes Wadell, of New York City, and Mrs. Sadye Harris Powell of Atlanta. Mrs. Wadell is a daughter of former Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes; Mrs. Powell is owner and superintendent of the Harris Memorial Hospital of Atlanta.

Recent speakers at Spelman have been Maurice Hindus, famous author and lecturer; and Stephen Spender, noted British poet. Concert of the combined musical organizations of the university system, under the direction of Kemper Harreld, was given in Sisters chapel April 16.

Dr. Brailsford R. Brazeal, for a number of years the dean of men at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE, has been elevated by the board of trustees to the position of academic dean.

FRIENDSHIP HOUSE of Chicago, Ill., is conducting its third annual school of interracial techniques at Marathon City, Wis., July 4-August 14.

Thirteen Negro applicants for positions with the Houston, Texas, police department have completed their thirteen-week course at THE TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY and been awarded certificates. The program of training in public administration was sponsored jointly by the University of Houston, the police department of the city of Houston, and the Texas State university.

MARYLAND STATE COLLEGE announces the addition to its staff of Paul Jewell, professional engineer; Mrs. Viola J. Wood, director of admissions; Mrs. Ann Anderson; and Dr. Edward Ferguson, Jr.

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'47 at SHAW UNIVERSITY have been placed in teaching positions, according to a report recently released by the university bureau of appointments. This figure represents 94 percent of the students expressing an interest in teaching. The largest number of teachers was placed in North Carolina, with Georgia ranking next.

Annual theological alumni-day services were observed in April, with the principal address being delivered by the Rev. Vernon Johns, a prominent minister of Farmville, Va. Rev. T. H. Brooks, pastor of the First Baptist church, Oxford, N. C., was principal speaker during 'bigger and better Negro business" week; Grace Alice Hale, field consultant for the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, gave informal talks to students April 13-14. Northern tour of the university choral society began at Mt. Olive Baptist church, Arlington, Va., April 15 and ended April 23 with a concert in the First Baptist church of Baltimore, Md.

The OKLAHOMA STUDENT WORKSHOP FOR DEMOCRACY in education began its sessions in the McFarlin Memorial Methodist church Norman, Oklahoma, April 30 and continued through May 2. There were panel discussions on interracial democracy, action in the community, and removal of legal barriers in education.

The COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIAL ARTS, Wilberforce, Ohio, has been accredited by the Ohio College Association, according to a release from the office of President Wesley.

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Ohio. Mrs. McKinney, denied educational opportunities in her home town in the South, enrolled in the DOUGLASS NIGHT ELEMENTARY SCHOOL three years ago.

Funeral services for Dr. Donley H. Turpin, dean emeritus of dentistry at MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE, were conducted March 29 at the First Baptist church, Nashville, Tenn. Dr. Turpin died in March. He was chief demonstrator in dentistry at Meharry 1918-20; assistant professor of operative dentistry 1926-28; staff member Hubbard hospital 1930; professor of prosthetic dentistry 1938; dean of dentistry 1938-42; and dean emeritus beginning July, 1947.

President Sherman D. Scruggs of LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) was recently elected to the Commission of Colleges and Universities of the North Central Association. The term of office is for three years. Students taking the history of journalism course in the school of journalism will now have access to photographic reproductions of Negro newspapers of the past century. Lincoln boasts that approximately fifteen percent of the students enrolled in its various colleges are on the current honor roll.

Lincoln was host to the annual spring Educational Conference April 16-17, and the sixth annual spring meeting of the Industrial Arts and Technical Vocational Conference April 30. Keynote address of the latter conference was delivered by Dr. H. H. London, professor of industrial education at the University of Missouri.

In April the department of business administration and economics of the university, under the supervision of acting-head J. T. Johnson, presented a live-laboratory experience for its students in the form of a "success stories" clinic. J. V. Strickland of the department of agriculture was a participant, upon invitation, in the fifth annual state livestock and poultry show and farmers' short course program at Southern university as judge and speaker.

Sixty-six students are on the dean's list for the second semester at FISK UNIVERSITY. Based upon grades for the first semester 1947-48, the list is composed of students who have maintained an average of "B" and are undergraduates.

Recent faculty changes are the appointment of Jack Adkins, formerly of LeMoyne college, as head coach; Dr. Preston Valien, professor of sociology, to replace Dr. Charles S. Johnson, now president, as head of the department of sociology and director of research; and Dr. Dwight H. Wilson, international archivist, as first archivist at Fisk. Dr. Wilson will act in the dual capacity of archivist and records administrator. Mrs. Helen Young Howard, alumni secretary, left the campus April 4 for Philadelphia to take up her duties with the United Negro College Fund.

Recent gift of the Myrdal collection microfilm series to the Fisk library by the Carnegie Fund is the third major microfilm sequence to be obtained by the library, according to librarian Arna Bontemps.

Nineteenth annual spring festival of music and art was held April 30-May 1.

Notice To Graduates

Information and pictures from colleges and universities will appear as usual in THE CRISIS in the August number, out August 1.

Schools and individuals are invited to send pictures and information about graduates to reach THE CRISIS not later than July 2.

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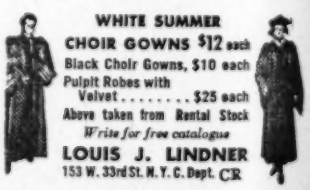

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Editorials

NO SUPPORT FOR COVENANTS

BY unanimous vote of 6-0, the United States Supreme Court on May 3 held that state and federal courts may not enforce residential restrictive covenants. In the court's opinion, delivered by Chief Justice Vinson, these agreements between property owners to exclude Negroes and other minorities from owning and occupying property so covenanted are not in themselves unconstitutional, but they must be purely voluntary agreements and the courts may not be called upon to enforce them.

In simplest terms this decision means that where white property owners agree among themselves not to sell to Negroes, and later one or two or more decide to sell, their neighbors cannot go to court and prevent them from doing so. This is what has been happening. It means that if Negroes have the money and can find sellers, and are willing to take their chances in a hostile atmosphere, they can now buy and move in. No court can step in and keep them from their home. The following excerpts from the opinion give the salient points:

It cannot be doubted that among the civil rights intended to be protected from discriminatory state action by the Fourteenth Amendment are the rights to acquire, enjoy, own and dispose of property. . . . That Amendment erects no shield against merely private conduct, however discriminatory or wrongful.

We conclude, therefore, that the restrictive agreements standing alone cannot be regarded as a violation of any rights guaranteed to petitioners by the Fourteenth Amendment. So long as the purposes of those agreements are effectuated by voluntary adherence to their terms, it would appear clear that there has been no action by the State and the provisions of the Amendment have not been violated.

But here there was more. . . . We have no doubt that there has been state action in these cases in the full and complete sense of the phrase. The undisputed facts disclose that petitioners were willing purchasers of properties upon which they desired to establish homes. The owners of the properties were willing sellers; and contracts were accordingly consummated. It is clear that but for the active intervention of the state courts, supported by the full panoply of state power, petitioners would have been free to occupy the properties in question without restraint. . . .

These are not cases . . . in which the States have merely abstained from action, leaving private individuals free to impose such discriminations as they see fit. Rather, these are cases in which the States have made available to such individuals the full coercive power of government to deny to petitioners, on the grounds of race or color, the enjoyment of property rights in premises which petitioners are willing and financially able to acquire and which the grantors are willing to sell.

We hold that in granting judicial enforcement of the restrictive agreements in these cases, the States have denied petitioners the equal protection of the laws and that, therefore, the action of the state courts cannot stand.

Thus was overturned a practice which had grown so widespread in America that it has been estimated that as much as 80 per cent of the residential area of one large city (exclusive of the existing Negro ghetto) was covered by restrictive agreements. The practice affected not only Negroes, but Mongolians, Asiatics, Jews, Indians, Mexicans, Spanish-Americans, Filipinos, and even Polynesians.

The victory—made possible by the active cooperation of many individuals and organizations—marked one more milestone in the continuing fight of the NAACP legal staff against segregation, for it was the NAACP which in 1917 won the *Buchanan v. Warley* case in the U. S. Supreme Court, outlawing residential segregation by city ordinance. Indeed, the residential cases cited by the Chief Justice in the course of his opinion were all cases handled by the NAACP: *Corrigan v. Buckley, Buchanan v. Warley, Harmon v. Tyler, Richmond v. Deans,* and *Hansberry v. Lee.*

One more telling blow has been struck at segregation and inequality and one more avenue has been opened still wider in the trying but steady progress toward full citizenship. The opinion is not merely a victory for Negroes, but a significant re-affirmation of basic American democracy delivered at a time when such a restatement of faith and practice was sorely needed.

ERROR

INADVERTENTLY in our editorial in the April issue it was implied that all white people who wanted to join Negro organizations, and particularly NAACP branches, might be Communists. This, of course, is not true. From 1909 to date the NAACP has had many white members, not only in the large urban centers, but throughout the country, even in the South. In recent years the white membership has increased. All who support the NAACP program are welcome, of whatever color, race, religion, or political belief. But we said in April and we repeat that NAACP branches should be instruments for carrying out the NAACP program, not that of any political party, and that our members should be alert on this point.

FROM THE GOP CONGRESS: NOTHING

HOWEVER much the Republicans may criticize President Truman on civil rights for Negroes, there is one fact the party cannot escape: it has been in control of both houses of Congress for two years and it has produced exactly *nothing* in the way of legislation. The GOP promised in 1944 to enact anti-poll tax, anti-lynching, and fair employment practice legislation.

As of May 22, with a short four weeks to go before adjournment, the GOP-controlled Congress had done nothing to redeem this promise. The anti-poll tax bill and the anti-lynching bill were bottled up in committee. The FEPC bill, S. 984, was out of committee and on the calendar, but the Republican leadership refused to call it up.

Instead of aiding the Negro, the Republicans joined with Dixie Democrats in attempting to pass the regional college resolution which would have given congressional approval to segregated regional colleges. It was beaten by an eyelash vote of 38-37, largely through the leadership of Senator Wayne Morse (R.-Ore.). As this goes to press, the Republicans are lending an ear to the proposal of Senator Robert Russell of Georgia, who wants to write segregation into the draft law.

The Republican candidate for the presidency will have to make it on his own. His party in Congress has produced a big, round zero as far as the Negro is concerned.

It Takes Courage and Faith

By Miriam A. Huffman

The story of a successfully run, privately financed interracial camp

IT takes courage to establish a privately financed and administered summer camp for young children which recognizes neither white nor black, Jew or Gentile, north nor south European, rich nor poor, but operates solely for the purpose of giving all kinds of children an opportunity to live democratically together.

It takes faith that there are parents, counselors, and neighbors who see or can be brought to see the desirability of beginning now and with their own children and with themselves to create the sort of society upon which the future depends. One *knows* the children will respond.

Dr. Thomas W. Patrick, Jr., Harlem pediatrician, had the courage and the faith. He knew that the opposition to a genuine mingling of various races upon terms of equality is still strong in most Americans. He himself had found it necessary to secure his medical training in the University of Berlin after his graduation from Harvard. He had seen in Germany the frightful effects on the human spirit of acceptance of an ideology based upon the same false assumptions as American "white supremacy." He wanted to strengthen the forces working to eradicate that poison from American life.

He realized that there are a great number of people who are quite indifferent to the idea of equality or its opposite so long as they aren't asked to change their ways. They don't know what a democratic society is. Neither do they care.

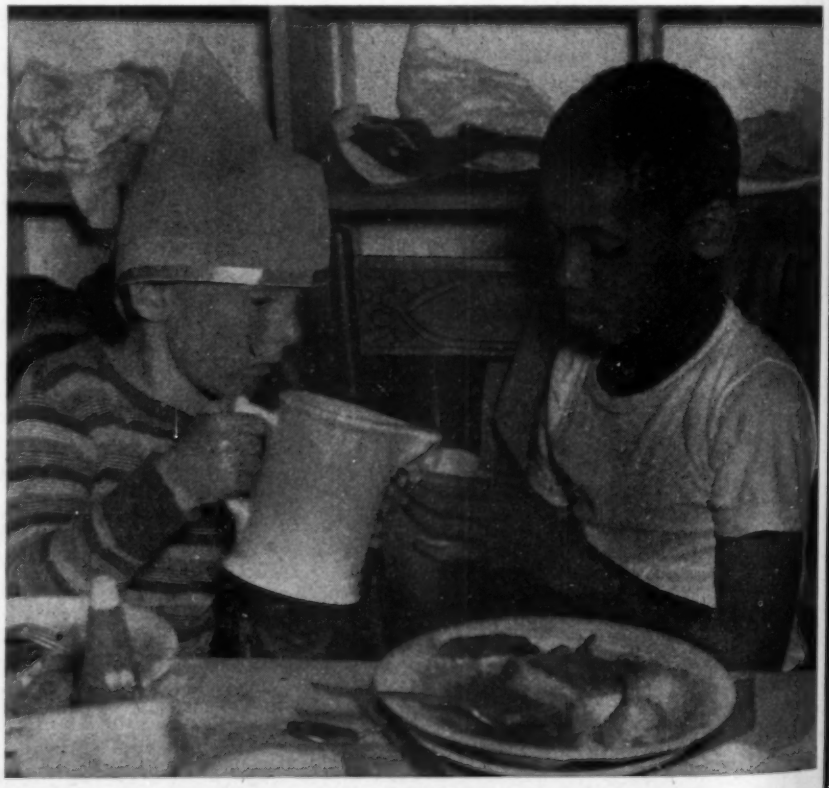
He accepted the fact that he would get no help from the parents who, like some professional people in large cities, would applaud the idea of an interracial, interfaith camp, and then send their children to exclusive private institutions.

He wasn't too worried about the purveyors of hate who always oppose any attempt to put the democratic principle into practice. Their existence would limit the area in which he could work, but there was still quite a range of possibilities for a site.

He chose a beautiful 115 acres of rolling hillside, part wooded land, part open fields, with a mountain stream winding its way to join with the Willowemoc river below the resort hotel which became the Big House and administrative center. Some 120 miles from Grand Central Station, Camp Willowemoc lies in the heart of the Shawungunk Mountains in the foothills of the Catskills near Roscoe, New York. The neighbors are mostly farming folk who follow the good old American custom of looking a newcomer over for some time and watching him in action before passing judgment.

Lucky Chance

Dr. Patrick had a lucky chance in his early contacts with the citizens of Roscoe. One evening after he had just come from the camp site, he was standing in the lobby of the hotel when a woman was brought in badly bleeding. She was attended by an old doctor. The clerk came to Dr. Patrick and asked, "You are a doctor, aren't you?" He replied that he was and went over to see if he could be of any assistance. In a few minutes he found himself stopping the flow of blood with the old doctor assisting. He went on his way.



HERE'S YOUR MILK—*White youngster at Camp Willowemoc pours milk for his Negro playmate.*

But the word of his "saving her life" spread over the town and made many friends for him and his project.

It would be hard not to be friends with this tall, good-looking, warm-hearted individual. His smile is so contagious, his sincerity so evident that one finds oneself quickly sharing his enthusiasm for Camp Willowemoc as a microcosmic foretaste of the brave new world.

During the four years of operation, the neighbors at Roscoe and in the surrounding countryside have come to regard the camp as an asset rather than a liability to their community. Consider putting down into a rural and small town neighborhood a group of boys and girls of all races, religious faiths, and national backgrounds. There have been Irish, Hungarian, Canadian, Puerto Rican, Spanish, Italian, Scotch, English, and Scandinavian to mention a few of the stocks from which the campers derive. Add a staff equally mixed and directed by a Negro doctor and a Jewish graduate of the New York School of Social Work. Choose your employees from as diverse backgrounds. Obviously such an organization could not exist for any length of time in a community which was actively opposed to its principles. Unfortunately buildings have been burned and lives threatened in other American communities for no more revolutionary attempts to practice democracy. Fortunately for Camp Willowemoc, New York state is not like that. Fortunately also for the Roscoe neighborhood, the camp has as its director an intelligent and very likable individual who respected the town and country people as he wanted them to respect him. He made business contacts with the banker and merchants and won over any slight opposition there may have been to the coming of the camp by his manner of administering it.

Dr. Patrick insists that the children and staff members show the same friendly consideration for their town and country neighbors they do for each other. When a farmer said that he didn't want the children to visit his farm again, Dr. Patrick went to call. He found that the counselor accompanying the children on the trip had been lax in his supervision of the group, that they had frightened the chickens, run over the lawn, and made a nuisance of themselves. Dr. Patrick apologized and asked for another trial. The farmer agreed, Dr. Patrick bought some chickens, and relations were very pleasant from that time on.

The camp is much like other camps in its physical arrangements and in its program of activities. The Big House contains the administrative offices, kitchen, dining-halls, infirmary, first aid center and nurse's quarters. Located on the upper floors are the sleeping rooms for the younger children and their counselors. The campers range from five to fifteen years in age, and the 130 usually attending are distributed fairly equally in four groups: the four and five year olds; the six to eights; ten to twelves; and the thirteen to fifteeners. The older campers live on Tent Hill in waterproof tents with raised wooden platforms. On rainy days and quiet hours the library, arts and crafts room, and recreation hall in Play House are filled with busy children. At other times the out-door swimming pool, softball and croquet courts, archery range and horse-shoe pitching alley are the scene of active contests. Playgrounds equipped with swings, slides, see-saws, and sand-boxes keep the little ones content.

LOWERING THE FLAG *at Camp Willowemoc, New York.*

An amusing experience is related by one of the counselors. He was walking down the road bordering the camp behind a man and woman who appeared to be greatly interested in what they evidently considered the unusual nature of the camp. As they passed a group of five and six year olds playing happily together, the man remarked, "Look! There are all sorts of children, colored and white, playing quite nicely together." To which the woman replied, "That's all right. But wait until they get older. They won't do it then." A few rods down the road they came to a mixed crowd of fifteen year olds having a grand time playing ball. "That I don't understand!" was all the woman could say.

Perhaps if she had come to camp on visiting day with the parents who have made unusual and happy contacts with other parents in this way, or accompanied the youngsters on a nature study trip to the woods or meadows, or on a hike down a picturesque country road, or shared in the adventure so exciting to city children of "a day at the farm," she might have understood.

The program provides enough constructive activity to keep the children

interested and enough leisure for relaxation and time to indulge their self-chosen pursuits. Although the broad general principles are determined by the directors and counselors, the details are worked out by the Campers' Council. This body is composed of a representative from each tent chosen by his mates to work with the three group leaders in planning and carrying out a desirable program.

Although Camp Willowemoc is no different in many ways from any good private camp with a progressive program and a well-trained and capable staff, it differs in one vital respect. It deliberately seeks to make the youngsters who compose the camp community, the counselors who work with them, the employees who serve them, thoroughly representative, in sizable numbers, of the groups making up the American people. In this it is very successful. The group has been almost equally divided every season between white and colored children. Protestants, Catholics, Jews, as many as eleven different faiths have been represented during a single summer. The Sunday service held out-of-doors whenever possible is non-sectarian, and so simple and sincere in its inspirational appeal that although attendance is optional everyone comes. Among the favorite songs of the campers are "America the Beautiful," "The House I Live In," and "The Star Spangled Banner." At the conclusion of each service the group joins in saying:

We meet in friendship beneath the trees.
We pledge ourselves to brotherhood and to build a better world.

So impressive was this expression of friendliness to a five year old new to camp that he met his father at the bus on visiting day with the proud assertion, "Daddy, up here at camp we're going to build a better world."

The fact is that they seem to be doing it. There are occasional disputes and name-calling. These occur in any camp. When they involve reflections on another because of race or faith they are made the subject of on-the-spot education by the counselor or another camper. Since a friendly interest in each individual is the order of the day, it is not difficult to put over the idea that one's religion or color or national background is occasion neither for reproach nor pride but that what one is himself as a person is what counts.

Since the counselors themselves, some 40 of them, represent the same diversity as the children and, in addition, come from all over the East and Middle West with college backgrounds including Harvard, Princeton, Columbia, Vassar, Philadelphia, Skidmore, North and South Carolina, Antioch, Chicago, the lesson is easily learned. "We are here to work and play as one big family" is an idea easy enough for the smallest child to grasp. The counselors are many of them high school and college teachers and this background plus previous camping experience, intercultural courses, and precamp and on-the-job conferences enable them to do a skilful job of establishing a friendly and democratic tone for the camp. Obviously in the selection of staff members the greatest care is taken to choose individuals who themselves exemplify in their attitudes and daily behavior the respect for human worth which it is the purpose of the camp to foster.

Dr. Patrick reports that there has been no trouble in getting desirable staff members. The idea of pioneering in human relations appeals to the most able persons. Consequently in a day of wholesale exodus from the classroom, counselors have been found who are eager to participate in the enterprise even at modest salaries. The young high school and college students who composed the greatest number of counselors in all camps during the war years are now junior counselors where they can contribute their enthusiasm and drive under the more skilful direction of older and more experienced men and women.

Recruiting Campers

With an enthusiastic director and an equally enthusiastic staff, the recruitment of campers has been comparatively easy. There have been parents, it is true, who were willing to go along with a part of the idea but not the whole of it. Such was the mother who was delighted at the idea that the camp was to take children of all religious faiths since she thought that Christians and Jews, Catholics, and Protestants should learn to get along together. But when she was told that there was an equally extensive crossing of the color-line she balked completely. There have been colored mothers who didn't want their children in a camp with white children. Other parents have been sceptical of the genuineness with which their particular Jewish or Negro child would be integrated into the full life of the camp. Some of them knew of "liberal" camps which took a limited number of Negro and Jewish children as a token of their liberality. Of these they were justly suspicious. Many of these skeptical ones, however, sent their sons and daughters gladly when they had learned to know and respect the integrity of the staff and program at Willowemoc.

One problem in recruitment of the desirable mixture of races and creeds has plagued and continues to plague the director. It is the always thorny problem of finance. Even with the camp owned by a man who is interested not in making money from it but in building up an institution which can be self-supporting while doing the work for which it was created, and with salaries and fees kept as low as consistent with providing healthful conditions and adequate personnel, the cost of $275 for the entire season or $150 for either of the two periods has been hard for some parents to meet. Especially true is this of the parents of colored children. Hence, like many other socially useful undertakings, this one has had to turn to its friends for funds.

The faith with which Dr. Patrick undertook, at the beginning almost single-handed, to give form to his dream has called forth a corresponding faith in the representative and responsible people who have become sponsors of the camp foundation. They have been impressed by the intelligently creative efforts of the director and staff, and have come to regard the undertaking as one of vital social significance.

A warmly gratifying bulwark has also been found in those parents who are concerned realistically and intelligently with the fundamental question of how to build sound human relations in an uneasy world. They realize that democracy is very much on trial. If it is to compete successfully with a philosophy that offers material abundance to all at the cost of individual liberty it must demonstrate more effectively than it yet has that it is capable of providing the better life materially and spiritually for all the people. They wish their children to be prepared to do their part in that demonstration. Even more strongly perhaps, in personal terms, they want John and Mary to grow up free from fear, free from arrogance. One southern mother who had gone through severe growing pains in casting off deeply ingrained habits of thought wrote to say that this was the only summer camp she had heard of that she wanted for her two sons as it appeared "to give the living breathing human relationship in their most formative period, which will make prejudice an emotional impossibility in later life."

Has that been the result? Do the children who have lived at Willowemoc carry with them through the winter and on into the future memories of

(Continued on page 189)

The Spirit of Wendell Willkie*

By Newbold Morris

Willkie was loved for his forthright talk and his fight for the right.

I remember Wendell Willkie for many things—things that will make this man who never held public office live in history when so many of his contemporaries who held office will be forgotten. Most of all, I like to think back on Willkie's mental honesty and the bold, daring, always natural way he had of showing it. I have in mind one story that perhaps you have not heard before. Willkie was in a certain Western city—I won't name it here—in the summer of 1941, before Pearl Harbor, to make a unity speech, a fighting interventionist speech as they were called in those days.

A group of politicians, state Republican leaders—those fellows a man who wished to be president should cultivate—wanted to meet with him. They did.

The conversation was slow in getting under way. Finally one ponderous fellow said, with considerable clearing of the throat:

"Mr. Willkie, now that you are supporting Roosevelt" (the fellow made no reference of course, to the tremendous job Willkie was doing to awaken the people to our common danger)—"Now that you are suporting Roosevelt, why—why—we're worried about the future of the Republican party."

With that, there was much nodding of assent and more clearing of throats.

"You're worried about the future of the Republican party?" Willkie asked.

"We certainly are."

"Well, let me tell you something, gentlemen," Willkie's voice was deadly serious.

"Let me tell you something. In 1933 we were fifty years behind in social reform in this country. Franklin Roosevelt grabbed the banner of social reform. It was a good banner. But we Republicans maneuvered ourselves quite successfully against it.

International

THE LATE WENDELL WILLKIE *chats with Russell W. Davenport (left).*

"Now Franklin Roosevelt has raised the banner of freedom. That's an even more important banner than the banner of social reform. And we Republicans are doing a pretty good job of maneuvering ourselves against that banner.

"You're worried about the future of the Republican party?

"Don't worry, gentlemen. If we Republicans are as successful in arraying ourselves against the banner of freedom as we were against the banner of social reform, don't worry about the future of the Republican party. There won't be any."

Why Willkie Was Loved

You had to love Wendell Willkie for straight-from-the-shoulder talk like that, didn't you?

We need Wendell Willkie today for so many things.

If there is one spot, however, more than any other where we need Willkie's magnificent honesty today, it is, in my opinion, in the fight for the protection of our civil liberties. For make no mistake about it, they are being dangerously assailed. Willkie would be leading that fight, I believe, because to him, from young manhood on, nothing was more precious. Remember what he said back in 1943:

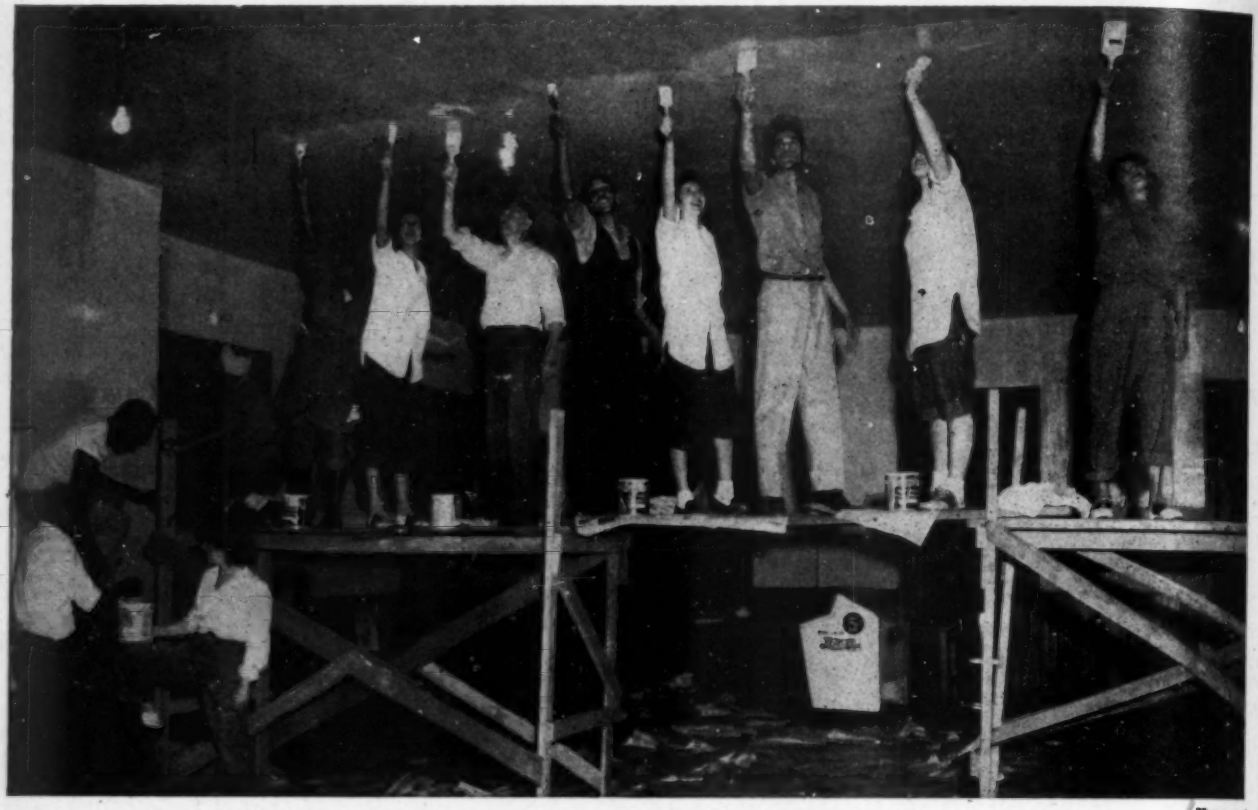
"Now more than ever before, we must keep in the forefront of our minds the fact that whenever we take away the liberties of those whom we hate, we are opening the way to loss of liberty for those we love."

He might be in trouble with the so-called Un-American Activities Committee were he here to speak those words today!

Willkie had other things to say about

(Continued on page 189)

* An address delivered at the dinner commemorating the birthday of Wendell Willkie, Freedom House, February 18, 1948.



BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY STUDENTS *paint the St. Paul AME church on the outskirts of Milton, Pennsylvania. Carl Andrews, president of the Williamsport Pa., youth council is third from right on platform; third from left is Professor Cyrus Karraker of the Bucknell NAACP chapter.*

The Expanding Radius

By Sachiye Mizuki

The story of how paint brushes helped increase brotherhood between two races

A few men lived, worked and spoke for an ideal. A handful of understanding students believed in those ideals and acted. Thus, the full impact of the words "nondiscrimination" and "brotherhood" have come to a growing number of individuals, groups, and even communities.

The St. Paul's African Methodist Episcopal church is a neat brick building located on the outskirts of Milton, Pennsylvania. Its membership is all of fifty, including children; and is made up of the colored people of Milton, with a few from Lewisburg, the neighboring college town where Bucknell university is located.

The interior of the church badly needed a fresh coat of paint; yet, the members felt that they could not do the work alone. In addition, the church was already burdened with a $1000 debt which had remained from expenses incurred in repairing the exterior of the church twenty years before.

Seeking aid in October, 1946, the Reverend S. E. Lancaster turned to Dorothy Sakasegawa, chairman of the Social Action Council of the Christian Association at Bucknell university, and to Dr. Cyrus Karraker, adviser to the college chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Arrangements were made, and within a few days, the word was spread and students quickly and eagerly volunteered. Work began in the evenings. There was plenty to keep everyone busy painting walls and ceiling, cleaning floors and then varnishing them.

There was fun too. The fun of good fellowship in working and helping one another. White and colored, old and young, worked side by side. There were veterans and other Bucknellians. Negro students from Bucknell did their share both as students and as members of the St. Paul's church. There was the high school bobby-sox brigade from Milton which matched the collegians in en-

thusiasm and accomplishments. And there were also Dr. Karraker, Reverend Lancaster, and the leaders of the church.

Harmonious Work

The room was alive with the sounds of moving pews, slapping brushes, of a group enjoying one another's company as it worked in harmony. "Someone give me a hand now . . ." "You work down there 'cause you're short and I'll work above you . . ." said a six-foot Bucknellian to a pint-sized Miltonite. "Here, let's put this can of paint between us . . ." "One more window and the corner of the ceiling and we'll be through for the night. . ."

With the evening's work done, all hands reported to the kitchen downstairs to enjoy the sandwiches and salad which the ladies of the church served with steaming hot drinks. Sitting and chatting around the long narrow table, it seemed easy to become better acquainted over a friendly cup of coffee.

The church interior was finally painted through the cooperation of white and colored persons, something of a phenomenon in this small, careful community. A story with a picture was featured in the *Milton Standard*.

A small stone had been tossed into a pond. Where would the widening ripples lead?

A week passed. Nothing happened, though the time was ripe.

In every man, however courageous, there is fear. Fear of his fellow men, fear of upsetting conventions, fear of ridicule, of ostracism, fear to carry out convictions. Because of this fear, nothing was done . . . for a week, for a month.

The Reverend S. E. Lancaster sat despondent in his living room at the beginning of a long December night. The church was painted, but there was still the $1000 debt to be liquidated. Suddenly, he was startled out of his thoughts by a sharp knock on the door.

Outside it was dark and cold. At the door stood a stranger.

"I read about your church being painted by your people and the kids from the university," he said. "I'd like to give this to help get rid of that debt the paper mentioned." He shoved an envelope into Mr. Lancaster's hand and quickly returned into the night.

The pastor looked into the envelope. He counted thirty-one dollars.

As he stood looking at the money, the leader's faith was renewed. If a total stranger had been struck by the newspaper article, there must be others who surely felt the same way. It was time to do something, now!

He got in touch with Dr. Karraker, and a drive was immediately planned. In a few days, Dr. Karraker, the Reverend Lancaster, and Jack Terrence, a well-known member of the church, made the rounds of the mills and factories in Milton to solicit contributions for the liquidation of the debt.

The first establishment was a machine mill where the owner listened attentively to the story and the request.

"How much should I give?" he asked.

"Well, some of the students at Bucknell gave fifty-five dollars," said Dr. Karraker.

"Guess I can give fifty," he decided, and quickly wrote a check. In half an hour over $100 was collected.

Meanwhile, Melvin Hopkins and Charles Hammond, two Bucknell members of the NAACP, canvassed the merchants of the town, going from door to door down Milton's main street. In an hour, they had obtained over sixty-nine dollars in contributions and also the knowledge that they had the friendship and support of the businessmen.

Subterfuge

What is there between us to say,
that has not been said?
Nothing . . . Nothing save the
things that welling up inside
Strain against the aching soul-
wounds;
Clamor against the silenced vocal
chords;
Dangle like closeted skeletons
Within the guarded guilty-con-
science walls,
And smolder on the alter
Of conformity's exacting code.
These are the things that ever are
unsaid . . .
The silent call which dooms our
mutual understanding.

Poetic Preferences

I could write pale and pithy
verse
To court a veiled deduction,
But I'd be thinking of the world
Writhing in self-destruction.
I could choose cadences and
forms,
And by this grace feel prouder
To sing about the lilting birds
Were mankind's groans not
louder.

BEATRICE WRIGHT

There was only that one day of soliciting; for the next day, and during the days that followed, there was a flood of checks through the mails, accompanied by messages of hope, of assurance, of good will.

Thus it was that on February 9, 1947, Brotherhood Sunday took on a deeper significance in Milton when the debt of the St. Paul's AME church was officially liquidated with a simple, impressive ceremony.

A little brick church in Milton, Pennsylvania, had a new coat of paint. It's $1000 debt was liquidated. Both were achieved through the efforts of white and colored working closely together, bringing a practical meaning to brotherhood.

Messages of Hope

The events at the St. Paul's AME church in Milton are important in themselves, but even more significant is the fact that they were the basis for a larger, ever growing program of interracial action, not only in the vicinity of Milton and Bucknell, but in other schools and other communities.

On the local campus, a scholarship fund which had been established to help Negro students at Bucknell has benefitted. Originated by Dr. Karraker, and named in honor of a former student whose sole interest was the betterment of relations between the two races, the Betty Ann Quinn Scholarship Fund has slowly grown. The fund still lacks several hundred dollars from the $1000 goal which has been set by the group of colored and whites, working cooperatively to achieve it.

The work of the Bucknell chapter of the NAACP has served as an example and an incentive for other groups. With encouragement from the Bucknell chapter, junior and student groups of the organization have been installed in Williamsport and Wilkes-Barre in the past year. Other schools have expressed interest in starting NAACP chapters on their campuses. And the work in Milton continues to serve as an example of what can be done to increase racial understanding in a community.

A single stone was tossed into a pond. The ripples have not ceased, but in themselves are the source of other ripples which continue to spread the brotherhood of man in ever-widening circles.

A few men live, worked and spoke for an ideal. A handful of understanding students believed in those ideals and acted. Thus, the full impact of true brotherhood and nondiscrimination comes to a growing number of individuals, groups, and even communities.

ELLIS WILSON: HE COMBINES COLOR AND SENSUOUSNESS

A group of paintings by Ellis Wilson, gifted American artist, was exhibited in a one-man show at Contemporary Arts, 106 East 57th street, New York City, May 10-May 28. A special preview was held Monday, May 10, 8:30-11:00 P.M.

Mr. Wilson was born in Mayfield, Kentucky, in 1900, one of eight children, and received a highschool education there followed by two years at Kentucky State College. His talent was first recognized by his earliest employer, an owner of a dress shop. As a Negro in the South, Wilson's first job was as window-washer. While cleaning the store front, he could not resist sketching a figure in Bon Ami on the pane. Far from being disturbed by the portrait which clouded the facade of the store, the manager ordered him not to remove it. For the duration of that job, his weekly portraits were incorporated into his chores. He is also a graduate of the Art Institute of Chicago, earning his way through that institution by working in a cafeteria. In 1944 he received the Guggenheim award for creative painting, which was renewed in 1946.

He has held one-man shows at the Barnett-Aden Gallery, Washington, D. C., at the South Side Community Art Center in Chicago, and in the library of his home town, the first exhibition ever seen in Mayfield, Kentucky.

Mr. Wilson paints his subjects with power and understanding. He is not afraid of color and there is a simplicity and directness in his subject matter and in his use of paint to portray it.

On the personal side, he does ceramics as a hobby, is famed for his fried chicken and candied yams, and is a natural dancer.

His work has been seen in many important exhibitions and is in the permanent collection of the International Business Machines Corporation. Other proud owners of Wilson's include Elinor Gimbel and Walter Richman.

This reproduction of one of Mr. Wilson's paintings is called "Edisto Family," having been painted on Edisto Island off the coast of South Carolina. Mr. Wilson is pictured at the right.

William Jackson, Jr.: American Boy

By Emily P. Castiglione

The story of an unusual boy in very ordinary surroundings

LAST year in his room on the tenth floor of Harlem's Hotel Theresa, Joe Louis asked a fifteen-year-old boy scout for his autograph. He got it.

The World's Heavyweight Champion wasn't the first who had requested the signature, *William Jackson, Jr.*, from the high school sophomore who was enjoying his first trip to New York from his home town of Columbia, Missouri. The young Negro lad had granted many such petitions (although few, perhaps, which gave him such a thrill) after he stepped from the platform in the Waldorf-Astoria at the ceremony which had honored him as sole representative of the nation's forty-seven boy scouts who had received the Gold Honor Medal for life saving.

Mr. Louis reciprocated in kind with an autographed copy of a book on scouting. For First Class Scout Jackson, that was sufficient. After seeing the Empire State Building, the Statue of Liberty, and Radio City, what more could a high school sophomore from a small town in Missouri ask for?

It was more than two years ago when Bill Jackson's trip to New York really began, although he never suspected it as he hustled home from football practice with three of his scouting friends on the rainy afternoon of October 10, 1946.

A woman called from across the street to ask if the house which the boys had just passed wasn't on fire. In spite of the rain, which made them doubtful, they went back to look. As they came closer to number ten West Allen Street, clouds of black smoke told them clearly that the neighbor had been right. Nearer still, they could see two little children with their noses pressed against the inside of a front window, their dark-skinned faces shiny with fear. The boys tried the front door; it was locked.

The Rescue

So the four of them worked together to jimmy the window, and Bill and his friend, Hubert Stapleton, climbed in and handed little Elsie and Raymond Glasgow out to the others. That done, they rammed the front door until it flew open. More smoke billowed out, so they decided against going in. Then they heard sounds of coughing and crying inside.

WILLIAM JACKSON, JR.

Hubert yelled, "There are some children in there and they're dying!"

Bill says that scared him.

He entered the house on his hands and knees and crawled along the floor to the corner of the room. "The scout Manual says to tie a kerchief over your nose and mouth," Bill remembers, "but I didn't have anything, so I just stayed close to the floor.") Dense smoke made it impossible to see more than the legs of a crib, but he stood up and felt around in it until he found two more babies. He snatched them up and ran back out of the house.

With the four children about them, the boys thought their good deed had been accomplished, but suddenly they heard more coughing and crying. Hubert Stapleton, 15, went back into the burning house and brought out a three-month-old baby wrapped in a blanket. It was so small that Bill had missed it in the crib. At that, all four boys went back into the house and felt around the smoke-filled room just to make sure there were no more children in danger.

For saving the lives of the five Glasgow children, Bill Jackson and Hubert Stapleton were awarded the scout life-saving medal at the Central Missouri Council's annual meeting at Moberly, Missouri, on January 20, 1946, August Chumley and Burton Richardson received certificates of meritorious action for their parts in the rescue.

Court of Honor

But only one of the nation's boy scouts who received the life saving medal was selected to represent all the rest at the National Court of Honor. So it was more than just the rescue of the Glasgow children which earned Bill his trip to New York, even though it would have been impossible without that. He had to be considered an outstanding scout in a nation-wide group of outstanding boys of all races, colors, and creeds. There is no doubt in the minds of those who know him that he was well-chosen.

William Jackson, Jr., is a nice-looking boy with a pleasing manner, unusual ability, and a smile of disarming charm; known, of course, to his friends as Bill. He sings with the school chorus and plays a "solid" horn in the band. He is a letter man in basketball and football. Last year the presidency of the Young People's Society of the Baptist church gave evidence of his popularity with his contemporaries; this year, he is secretary of the Lettermen's Club for top athletes at all-Negro Douglass high school.

His teachers, too, like Bill. A junior this year, his marks continue to be straight "E's" (Excellent), and several of his instructors have been happy to

(*Continued on page* 188)

The Negro Vote in 1948

By Roy Wilkins

FOR a review of the Negro vote from Reconstruction days down to the spring of 1948, including a frank study of the Communist party among Negroes, an evaluation of the Roosevelt era, a look at the third party, and an estimate of how the race will vote next November, readers of *The Crisis* and all students of politics should not fail to read Henry Lee Moon's new book, *Balance of Power: The Negro Vote.**

Unquestionably one of the hottest topics in this political year is the Negro vote. The Republicans are walking on eggs in Congress trying to decide how little legislation they can pass and still hold the dark voters. The southern governors, congressmen, senators, and other office holders and professional politicians are ranting and plotting how best to keep the Negro from securing his citizenship rights, including, of course, the right to vote freely. The U. S. Supreme Court has refused to review the lower court opinions which outlawed the "private club" white primary election scheme in South Carolina. The Georgia white supremacy forces had been depending on the South Carolina plan and with that knocked out, are scrambling for another scheme. Alabama's Boswell amendment is under court fire. The Department of Defense with its policy of segregation in the armed services is nevertheless keeping an eye cocked on possible political pressures. Wallace is busy wooing (successfully) many thousands of Negroes. The Truman civil rights program has caused discussion within the race throughout the nation. The Negro worker in the labor movement is weighing not only racial issues, but bread-and-butter ones as well.

Timely Book

So this new book is a most timely one. And it is not a "heavy" work, full of statistics and charts. The reader will find it smooth going, informative, witty, ironic, and keenly analytical.

"Unquestionably one of the hottest topics in this political year is the Negro vote. Who will get this vote?" This article-review calls attention to a book that gives the answer

The basis for the title—and, indeed, for the whole exposition—is found in this paragraph:

"The Negro's political influence in national elections derives not so much from its numerical strength as from its strategic diffusion in the balance-of-power and marginal states whose electoral votes are generally considered vital to the winning candidates. In the 1944 election there were twenty-eight states in which a shift of 5 per cent or less of the popular vote would have reversed the electoral votes cast by these states. In twelve of these, with a total of 228 electoral college votes, the political Negro vote exceeds the number required to shift the states from one column to the other."

Mr. Moon estimates that the full voting strength of the Negro outside the South will be about 3,100,000, and that 700,000 of this total represents migrants who left the South since 1940. According to the Census Bureau, 121,000 of these went to the Far West and the rest to the big industrial centers of the North and East.

Who will get this vote? Partially answering his own questions, the author says: "It does not now appear that either party will get the overwhelming support that went to President Roosevelt . . . While Roosevelt won wide personal following among Negro citizens, he did not win them to the Democratic party. He could not, so long as Bilbo, Rankin, and Talmadge sailed under that party's banner."

The voters want to know how candidates feel about FEPC, poll tax, elimination of jim crow, segregation, labor's rights, and protection of the right to vote. In short, citizens want to know how parties and candidates stand on implementation of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. The author pays his respects to all the candidates and their records, saying it is impossible to say how many will follow Mr. Wallace. "This would only be a gesture of protest and despair . . . The stakes are higher than that in 1948. The black minority cannot afford the luxury of futile protest."

Recent Developments

The treatment of developments in recent years is fresh and stimulating, particularly in the chapter on FDR, the Negro and the South, but Mr. Moon has not neglected an enlightening study of the Negro during Reconstruction and afterwards. Here will be found the names and a record of the actions of the stalwarts, with that matchless leader, Frederick Douglass, in the forefront. Here parade the men who fought to make the Civil War and the new amendments have meaning.

There is a brilliant chapter on the fight to recover the lost ground, culminating in the defeat of President Hoover's nomination of John J. Parker to the U. S. Supreme Court in 1930, and the verdict of that high tribunal in 1944 outlawing the Democratic white primary. Here Mr. Moon digs up the role played by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its secretary, Walter White, who led the fight against Parker, and whose legal staff delivered the knockout blow to the white primary.

In a penetrating analysis of the Communists and the Negro, Moon declares that although the race, by reason of its pariah status in America, should have been a fertile field "in which to sow the seeds of revolution," the Communists "have failed to gain and hold any considerable number of Negroes in the party membership." This failure, he feels, was due to the alien character of the movement, its domination from abroad, and "the lack of understand-

(Continued on page 188)

* *Balance of Power: The Negro Vote*, by Henry Lee Moon. Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1948. 256pp. $3.00.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

DIVISIONAL LEADERS *in the 1948 membership campaign of the Memphis, Tenn., branch. Left to right: Lucious Minor, Mrs. Annie B. Milligan, Rev. P. T. Stewart, Rev. A. Gladney, Mrs. Evelyn McRae, Rev. A. E. Andrews; Utillus B. Phillips, branch president; Henry White, Ed. Davis, Rev. John Mebane, H. F. Patton, Emory K. Gordan.*

SUPREME COURT

Covenant Decision: On May 3, Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson read the unanimous decision of the six-man court outlawing restrictive covenants.

Associate Justices Stanley F. Reed, Robert H. Jackson, and Wiley B. Rutledge abstained from voting. Although no reasons were given for the disqualification, it was generally assumed that each had withdrawn from the hearings because of previous connection with covenated areas.

The lawyers who argued the case were Charles H. Houston, chief for Washington, D. C.; George Vaughn, chief for St. Louis; and Thurgood Marshall and Loren Miller for Detroit. Two of the cases, *Hurd v. Hodge* and *Urciolo v. Hodge*, were from the District of Columbia; one, *Shelley v. Kraemer*, from St. Louis; and one, *McGhee v. Sipes*, from Detroit.

There will naturally be new interest in the decision in such heavily covenated cities as Chicago, where more than twenty cases were pending; Detroit, which has some half dozen; St. Louis; and Los Angeles, where there are ten or fifteen.

This ruling brought to a culmination the thirty-one-year fight of the NAACP against restrictive agreements and court action designed to keep Negroes and members of other minority groups cooped in ghettos.

The first successful case of the Association in its fight against residential segregation really goes back thirty-one years to *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917) in Louisville, Kentucky. Louisville had passed a municipal ordinance which prohibited Negroes from occupying property in a city block here the majority of the residents were white. The reverse was also true, and whites were enjoined from residence in "Negro" blocks.

However, this unanimous court decision did not stop the spread of residential segregation and the Association found it again necessary to take legal action. Two more cases were decided in our favor. The first was the case of *Harmon v. Tyler* (1917) in New Orleans. In this case there was a city statute, paralleled by a state statute, which in essence forbade a Negro from living in a "white" community, or a white in a "Negro" community, without the written consent of a majority of the people of the opposite race living in the community.

The second was the *City of Richmond v. Deans* (1927). In the Deans' case, the city of Richmond had passed a law which said that no person could live in a city block where the majority of houses were occupied by those "with whom such person was forbidden to enter into marriage under state law." Though the ordinance was framed in terms of marriage without direct use of the terms Negro or white, it could apply only to Negroes, since the state had laws against intermarriage.

These three cases established the broad principle that an individual is protected by the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments from legislative enactments restricting his right to acquire, use, and dispose of property solely because of his race or color.

In the meantime, the great northward migration of Negroes which had doubled and even trebled the Negro population of northern and western urban centers forced the advocates of residential segregation to seek other means for confining Negroes to the "black belts." Their aims could not be achieved by legislative enactment, since the courts had already declared them unconstitutional, so they had increasing recourse to the racial restrictive covenant. So widespread was the use of the covenant at the time of the Supreme Court decision, especially in the subdivision boom following World War I, that it had been given judicial recognition by nineteen states and the District of Columbia.

The Supreme Court decision does not outlaw the restrictive covenant as such, which, of course, was not the question at issue. In the words of the Court: "We may start with the proposition that the statute does not invalidate private restrictive agreements so long as the purposes of those agree-

ments are achieved by the parties through voluntary adherence to the terms. The action toward which the provision of the statute under consideration is directed as governmental action." In other words, property owners can still enter into agreements about the disposal of their property but they cannot ask the courts to enforce them.

Pro-covenantors in Washington, D. C., are already talking about substitutes. "Trusteeships" and "community conservation agreements" have been suggested. Under the "trusteeship" plan, the property would be protected by a trusteeship in which the trustees would have legal control of the property owned by all members of the trust. Under the "community conservation plan," a group of owners would promise to maintain certain standards of use for their residential property, such as limiting each house to a certain number of families, maintaining it in good condition, and so on. However, it is felt that the Supreme Court ruling will have little effect on the "silk-stocking" suburbs.

Reaction to the decision in Washington, D. C., have been varied. The May 4 issue of *The Evening Star* reports the pro-covenantors as maintaining either tight-lipped silence or venting bitter criticism of the decision. Norman M. Murray, president of the Greater Woodridge Land Covenants Association, explained: "This area is strictly white and I think we can keep it white." Gilbert C. Vincent, president of the National Gateway group, sulked: "I feel that the white race today is the victim of partisan politics." The first vice-president of the Dupont Citizens Association, Harral Muliken, gloomily remarked: "It's a shame that citizens cannot band together to protect their property."

All anti-covenantors are naturally jubilant. In the 100 block of Bryant street, N.W., where it started, opinions vary, sometimes with one's complexion. This is to be expected in a racially mixed block. Eighty-seven-year-old Paul Stewart, who lives at 150, exulted: "Covenants voided? Oh, thank God." Mr. Stewart's family say they have never seen him perk up so for years. Mrs. Frederick Hodge, white, of 136 says that "No matter what happens, we're going to stay here." Mrs. Victoria de Rita, white, of 128 echoed the same opinion. On the other hand, Mrs. Purdue, from Georgia, admitted that her Negro neighbors are fine, "much better than some white ones we had once," yet she was going to move. When asked why, she replied: "I'm white."

Perhaps the most puzzled children in the block were the Endos. The Endos are Japanese. When they first came to

Ransom

TWO DELEGATES *to the eastern regional training conference (April 10, Willkie Memorial Building, New York City) present checks to assistant secretary Roy Wilkins (center). President Peter Leftwitch (left) of the Buffalo, N. Y., branch presents contribution of $413.38 from his branch to the Ingram fund. Dr. U. S. Wiggins (right), president of the Camden, N. J., branch, donates $275.90 to the Ingram fund.*

MRS. JAMES L. McCONAUGHY *receiving a posthumous award from Raymond Parker of Springfield, Mass., in behalf of her husband, the late governor of Connecticut, at the 10th annual session of the New England regional conference. At Mrs. McConaughy's left are Dr. Hugh H. Smythe, of the national office, and Chao Sung-Chiao.*

THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE *of the Tuskegee branch, shown at a meeting in the Peabody room of Dorothy Hall at Tuskegee at the time they were making plans for the March 20-21 regional conference at Tuskegee Institute.*

the block the white children refused to play with them because they are Japanese. So they made friends and playmates of the Negro children. But because they went to a white school the whites finally accepted them. Now they have friends in both groups—yet the two groups do not mix. The Endos are still confused.

Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, in commenting upon the victory makes it clear: "We must bear in mind that presentation of these cases was made possible only through the cooperation of lawyers of all races throughout the country, and specialists in the fields of sociology, economics, and housing who cooperated to the fullest in freely giving their time and talent."

LEGAL

New Law School Trial: The fight to gain admission to the law school of the University of Oklahoma for Mrs. Ada Sipuel Fisher was renewed on May 24 with the opening of a new trial in the District Court at Norman, Oklahoma. Thurgood Marshall, special counsel, NAACP, and Edward R. Dudley, assistant special counsel, are cooperating with Amos T. Hall, an Oklahoma attorney, in representing Mrs. Fisher in her legal battle to enter the state-supported all-white law school.

The new trial was granted in response to a motion filed on March 11 on behalf of Mrs. Fisher, petitioning the court for further relief against the Board of Regents and other officials of the University of Oklahoma. The request for a new trial followed refusal of the law school to admit Mrs. Fisher after the United States Supreme Court had handed down a decision imposing upon the State of Oklahoma the obligation to provide her with an opportunity for a legal education forthwith.

To Test Boswell Act: Moving swiftly to consolidate the gains already made in the fight to secure the Negro's right to the ballot, Arthur D. Shores, Birmingham attorney, on April 28 filed a complaint in the United States District Court at Birmingham asking the court to declare unconstitutional the Boswell Amendment under terms of which qualified Negro voters have been disfranchised.

Attorney Shores filed the complaint on behalf of Rev. Eugene O. Braxter, a Methodist pastor, and other Negro citizens. In addition to a request for a declaration of rights and a permanent injunction against the registrars of Jefferson county, in which Birmingham is located, the complaint asks damages in the amount of $5,000.

To Hear Ingram Plea: The case of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two teen-age sons, sentenced to life imprisonment for killing a white sharecropper in self-defense, will be argued on June 14 in the Supreme Court of Georgia by Austin T. Walden and Edward R. Dudley, attorneys for the Association.

On that date, the lawyers will present a motion for a new trial for the Ingrams, contending that insufficient evidence was produced at the first trial to convict the three of murder. The NAACP will, if necessary, carry the case to the United States Supreme Court in order to obtain justice for the Ingram family.

To Re-argue Salary Case: Re-argument of the case of Samuel L. Davis and other Atlanta school teachers for equalization of salaries has been ordered by Judge E. Marvin Underwood of the United States District Court in Atlanta.

Judge Underwood's request for additional information followed study of the evidence and arguments presented in a six-day trial last November by Edward R. Dudley, Oliver W. Hill and Austin T. Walden, who filed the suit in behalf of Mr. Davis and other Negro teachers in the Atlanta school system. The teachers asked a pay scale equal to that of similarly qualified white teachers.

In his order, filed April 30, the judge asked clarifications of classification and personnel data submitted by the attorneys. He also indicated that additional evidence would be accepted when the case is re-opened for argument sometime during the month of July on a date to be agreed upon.

POLITICS

Protests Suspension of Branch President: The national office has filed a protest with Postmaster Jesse M. Donaldson against the suspension from the postal service of Frank Barnes, president of the Santa Monica, California, branch. Charges were filed against Mr. Barnes under Executive Order #9835, and grew out of his activities, on instructions from the branch, in organizing and conducting a drive to obtain employment for Negroes in the newly opened local branch-store of Sears, Roebuck and Company. Mr. Barnes was notified of his suspension on May 4 in a statement which asserted that he

had been and was "affiliated or sympathetic with an organization, association, movement, group, or combination of persons designated by the Attorney General as subversive." This was construed as evidence that "reasonable grounds exist for belief that you are disloyal to the Government of the United States."

Reaffirms Non-Partisanship: Clarifying and reaffirming the non-partisan position of the NAACP, a committee of the national board of directors adopted the following resolution:

It is the policy of the NAACP that neither officers nor members of its branches shall use the name of the Association or that of a branch for the aid and assistance of the candidacies of themselves or of any other candidate for political office.

Whenever officers of any branch run for political office, it shall be the duty of such officers and of the branch to make it clear to the public that neither the Association nor the branch supports such candidacy, since the Association does not support any political party or candidate whatsoever.

The committee reaffirmed a resolution passed by the board at its March 1944 meeting which banned partisan political activity. "The National Office of the NAACP may not officially support any political party," this resolution asserted. "The branches of the Association may not, as organized groups, support any political party; but the branch officers and members as individuals may work for and support any political party or candidate of their choice. They may work as individuals on party committees, speak for political organizations, and engage in any other activity in support of their political choice," the resolution concluded:

Defeat Mundt Bill: Defeat of the Mundt Bill to control subversive activities was urged by the board of directors of the NAACP at its regular monthly meeting in May. Terming the bill "a threat to all organizations engaged in the effort to obtain full citizenship rights for all American citizens," the resolution said that the bill "so loosely defines the term 'subversive' as possibly to bring within its scope such an organization as the NAACP as well as progressive trade unions and other organizations which fight for full citizenship rights for minorities."

GIFTS AND HONORS

Troops Give $274: Two small units of U. S. Army troops stationed in Germany have sent in 110 memberships and the sum of $274.00 to the national office. The units, the 16th Air Ammunition Squadron and the 18th Motor Transport Squadron, stationed at Landsberg, sought a 100 per cent membership. While not attaining their goal, the units plan to continue their drive for additional memberships.

New Life Member: M. J. Kaplan of Boston became in May the third member of his family to take out a $500 life membership in the NAACP. In 1946, Mr. Kaplan's two brothers, Joseph and Kivie Kaplan, became life members of the Association. Also added to the growing list of life members is the Grand Adirondack Lodge, No. 426, Knights of Pythias, located in New York City.

Ingram Defense Fund: Money to aid the Ingrams has been coming in from every state in the union. Receipts for the Ingram defense fund at the time of going to press amounted to a total of $28,552.26. Of this total amount, $20,398.31 was donated by branches; $1,395.71 by individuals; $1,120.46 by churches; and $5,637.78 by other organizations.

Surgical Society Elects Dr. Wright: Dr. Louis T. Wright, chairman of the board of directors of the NAACP, has been notified of his election to membership in the New York Surgical Society. He becomes the first Negro member of the 69-year-old society, composed of the leading surgeons in the area.

The famous New York surgeon is already a fellow of the American College of Surgeons and a diplomate of the American Board of Surgery, as well as surgical director of Harlem Hospital.

College Honors Walter White: Chosen by the faculty of the New London Junior College, New London, Connecticut, to be the first recipient of the Sir James Jeans Award, Walter White, NAACP secretary, will accept the award and deliver an address at the college commencement exercises on June 7.

Letter of Thanks: In a letter to Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary, John T. Hall, a member of the pay-raise committee of the postal employees in Los Angeles, California, expresses "the warm sentiments of postal employees throughout the nation" for the help of the NAACP in the fight of the postal employees for pay increases. "It is with a deep sense of appreciation [for the postal employees] to know that the NAACP has their interest at heart."

What the Branches Are Doing

ARKANSAS: The DERMOTT branch held a meeting at the Ash Street Baptist church April 20, with installation of officers. Branch president is Rev. S. H. Banks; branch membership is 217, with 500 as the goal in the membership drive.

Hansen Studio

CAUGHT IN ARGUMENTATIVE MOOD, *members of the membership campaign committee of the New York City youth council discuss campaign plans. Seated, chairman Aurelio Sterling, Jr. Standing around him (L-R) are Harold Doman, editor* NEWS BULLETIN; *Frances Roach, treasurer; Ivan Smolen, director education; Cedric Clark, division captain community club; Estelle Bryan, social director; and Orville Clark, program director.*

De Bourg

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE *of the New Rochelle, N. Y., branch. Seated (L-R): Winston Robinson, Cristobel Coker, Cornelia Harris, and Mamie Goodlet. Standing (L-R): George Richardson, Lewis Wanamaker, Charles Madison, Harry Fowkes, Arthur Fine, and John Tate, president.*

CALIFORNIA: The INDIO branch is now in its second annual membership drive, which began in February with a mass meeting setting forth the objectives and needs of the branch. In an essay contest conducted by the branch, first prize was won by Velma Noble with her essay, "What Freedom Means to Me." Branch delegates to the West Coast Regional Conference were Mrs. Brittwood and Mrs. Weaver.

CONNECTICUT: At the tenth annual session of the New England REGIONAL CONFERENCE in April a posthumous award was made to Mrs. James L. McConaughy in behalf of her husband. The late governor McConaughy was selected because of his efforts to stamp out racial discrimination while president of Wesleyan university, Middletown; for his strengthening of the Connecticut interracial commission; his support of the state FEPC; and his elimination of segregation in the state National Guard.

At the Sunday afternoon mass meeting speakers discussed the "problems of minority groups of the world," among whom were Chao Sung-Chiao, on China; Joseph Goldberg on Palestine; and Dr. Hugh Smythe, discrimination against American Negroes. The conference passed a resolution expressing its "opposition, disgust, and disapproval" of the statement of General Eisenhower "relative to the uneducated status of Negroes and their incapability for integration in the armed services."

OHIO: "Private Citizen 13," sponsored by the CINCINNATI branch, was one year old in April. Since April, 1947, this program, heard on Sunday nights at 10:30 over station WCPO, has brought a story dealing with interracial understanding to Cincinnati radio listeners. Besides original scripts written by local authors, authentic dramas based on the life stories of outstanding colored Americans have been presented.

"Citizen 13" has for the past year aired the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, the history of the NAACP, and an appeal to listeners in behalf of the Ingrams. The cast of the skit is made up of local talent and is interracial.

James E. Carter, present director of the show, is a Cincinnatian known for his poetry and short stories.

Elmer Carter, commissioner of the New York FEPC commission, was speaker at the Antioch Baptist church April 18, for the CLEVELAND branch.

Mr. Carter spoke on "Equal Job Opportunities," a subject of prime importance to Clevelanders since a FEPC ordinance is now before the Cleveland city council. One out of four persons in Cleveland has his ability and qualifications discounted solely on the basis of race when applying for employment.

Dr. D. R. Sharpe, vice-chairman of the Community Relations Board in Cleveland, presented the facts in the local issue. Dr. Sharpe, long an outstanding, progressive liberal, is dear to the hearts of many Cleveland people.

OKLAHOMA: The BRISTOW branch reports a collection of $70 toward the Ingram defense fund.

TEXAS: Membership drive of the CORSICANA branch began April 1. On April 8 the branch had Mrs. E. S. Gilbert of Savannah, Ga., as guest speaker and collected one hundred fifty memberships and several Crisis subscriptions. Workers in the membership drive are Mrs. Ida Scurry, Mrs. W. H. Davis, Mrs. Arma Long, Mrs. M. M. Moody, Mrs. Mizella Washington, Rev. F. M. Conley, Mrs. Nettie Washington, Sam Wilson, Mrs. Tina Lee, and Mrs. H. A. Burton.

WISCONSIN: Regular meeting of the MILWAUKEE branch was held April 22. The following committees reported: education, of which Erma Clardy is chairman; labor and industry, with Comer L. Cox as chairman; membership, with Mrs. Fannie Neal as chairman; legislative and redress, chairman C. L. Johnson. This committee reports that a letter was sent to the Wisconsin Hotel Association requesting that they print their policy of non-discrimination in their bulletin. Another letter was sent to the district attorney of Rock county urging him to take action in Beloit in the case of denial of service to a Negro in a Beloit restaurant. The refusal to accept a Negro in the National Guard is also being studied.

Donors to the Ingram defense fund include: Bethel AME church, $15.70; Mt. Era Baptist church, $15.01; Beulah Council 1334-St. Lukes, $21.00; Philadelphia Baptist church, $36.09; Calvary Baptist church, $87.16; St. Matthews CME, $30.00; Church of God, $4.00; Civic Study Club, $5.00; Flamingo Club, $10.00; branch collection April 1, $36.68. Individual donors of $2.00 or more, Lincoln Amos, $3.00; John Hall, $5.00; M. J. Kaye, $2.00; Archie Oliver, $5.00; J. D. Ferdinand, $3.00; Mr. & Mrs. Grant Gordon, $3.00; and Metropolitan Baptist church, $15.20.

THESE ALERT YOUTHS *are officers of the Atlantic City, N. J., youth council. They are (L-R): Holton Hayes, Charles Mills, treasurer; Virginia Bennett, vice-president; Robert Carpenter, president; Essie Mason, secretary; Robert Threadgill, assistant secretary; and Arwin Hamm, chairman of the council.*

What the Regions Are Doing

WEST COAST: Noah W. Griffin, regional secretary, has recently completed an intensive tour of branches in the area. March 28-30 was spent in Vancouver, Washington, in discussion groups and conferences with local leaders in business and civic affairs. March 28 he attended an interracial luncheon held at the local YWCA under the auspices of the Women's Special Activity Group of the branch; that same afternoon he addressed the Church Council, also a women's group, on the report of the president's committee on civil rights; March 30 he attended a conference, arranged by Theodore Baugh, chairman of the Vancouver branch of the labor and industry committee, with the manager of the employment security department of the state employment service; and that same afternoon he made a talk over the local radio station on civil rights. He also visited members of the Vancouver housing authority and attended a conference at the Catholic Academy.

Other visits made by the regional secretary in the state of Washington were at Walla Walla, March 5; Pasco, April 7-9; and at Yakima, April 10-12. The branch at Pasco is a newly organized one and it has immediately set to work to improve the housing and living conditions of local Negroes.

SOUTHWEST: Civil suit is being filed in the district court of Shelby county, Texas, against Brian McCallum, city marshal, for $10,000 on behalf of Ezekiel McCowin, father of Leonard McCowin, who on last November 4 was struck down and killed by the police officer on a Center street corner wholly without cause or provocation, according to eyewitnesses to the crime. Acting legally for Mr. McCowin is Attorney W. H. Harkness of Texarkana, member of the Texas NAACP legal committee.

According to the statement of Mrs. Laura Smith, friend of Leonard McCowin, who was walking along the street with him at the time the incident occurred, the city marshal had approached them on the street corner as they were waiting for the light to change and had asked McCowin where he was going. McCowin replied that he was going hunting, and Brian McCallum then asked to see the gun. Without a word or any show of hesitancy McCowin passed it over. The city marshal unbreeched it, saw that it was not loaded, then swung it, striking McCowin just below the ear and killing him instantly. Another witness, Odell Gardner, operator of the Mosby shoe shop a short distance away, states that then he heard Brian McCallum say, when someone suggested that an ambulance be called, "Hell no, don't take him to the hospital. He can die here as good as he can in a hospital."

The Hearne case, similar to the Sweatt case, but on the high-school level, is set for trial in the federal district court, Waca division, on Monday, July 19. Two more educational cases, the Kirk and LaGrange cases, were filed in March, the former in the Travis county district court at Austin and the latter in the federal district court in Houston. Two, and possibly three other cases are expected to be filed shortly. The nature of these is being withheld upon advice of the legal department.

JAMES W. CARTER III, *writer and director of "Private Citizen 13," a radio program sponsored every Sunday over station WCPO by the Cincinnati branch.*

ARKANSAS: Two grade school educational cases, at DeWitt and Onieda, are pending, and the president of the state conference has stated that the conference intends to file a case against the University of Arkansas on behalf of Wiley Branton of Pine Bluff. This case would be on the undergraduate level, as Mr. Branton was refused admission to the college of business administration.

NACOGDOCHES SLAYING: A young Negro man, Ellis Hutson, Jr., 24, resident of Nacogdoches, Texas, all his life and father of three children, tells a harrowing story of how on March 12 he was "pistol whipped" by Constable Hepinstead of Nacogdoches and thrown into jail because he had said "No" instead of "No sir" to the officer, after which his father, Ellis Hutson, Sr., was shot and killed on the morning of March 13 by the same peace officer when the father attempted to arrange bond for his son's release instead of producing cash. The murder occurred in the courthouse within earshot if not eyesight, of the magistrate and the sheriff. The younger Hutson, ordered to leave town, took refuge in another city and there his plight came to the attention of the NAACP state and regional offices.

Attorneys W. J. Durham and Otto Mullinax, the latter a young white lawyer of Dallas, who, along with the two partners of his law firm, L. N. D. Wells, Jr., and Niles Ball, is exhibiting ever deeper concern with NAACP work, have been asked by the Texas NAACP to handle the case. On Wednesday, March 31, Mr. Mullinax and the regional secretary went to Nacogdoches to investigate the murder of the elder Hutson.

MEMBERSHIP GOAL: In the nationwide membership drive of the NAACP for 500,000 new members one fifth of that number, 100,000, is the quota set for the five states of Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas, comprising the southwest region with headquarters in Dallas.

Texas, because of its tremendous size, potential and past performance, is assigned half of this quota, 50,000 members. The other half is assigned the region's other four states, with the following proportion: Arkansas, 12,000; Louisiana, 20,500; New Mexico, 1,500; and Oklahoma, 16,000.

LAWTON, OKLAHOMA (H. L. Shegog, president) had only 149 members last year; 162 members are already reported this year; and the enthusiastic workers are driving for 500.

MCNAIR, TEXAS (G. D. Daniels, president), reports that through efforts of the branch, a drainage system is being installed in the Negro section of town; they have solicited funds for the Ingrams of Georgia; 30 new members have joined since January 1 and that on April 11, the membership chairman, G. H. Blue, called his captains and workers together for final instructions before sending them out to get 500 members by May 1. The branch also has been responsible for a record poll tax payment of 275.

NATCHITOCHES, LOUISIANA (a new branch, Rev. Arthur Robinson, president), writes that their charter has been received, that the branch now has over 100 members and that a campaign is under way to raise the membership to 300.

SNYDER, OKLAHOMA (Henry Snowden, president), despite the presence of so few Negroes in the community, says it is determined to fight to get *everybody* to join this year.

KINGSVILLE, TEXAS (Wm. Thompson, Sr., president), has been consistently one of the region's most active and best branches. It reported $96 in advertisements for the souvenir program; sent in $66.30 for the defense of the Ingrams and has reported $22 to the state secretary toward its state assesment. This makes a grand total of $184.30 raised by the branch as its contribution in our great "fight for Freedom."

TERRELL, TEXAS (Mrs. Ova Lewis Brooks, president), sends in $78.31 for the Ingram defense fund; $4 for souvenir booklets sold. This excellent branch, so states a letter received last week from Mrs. M. C. Paterson, secretary, is just beginning its membership drive with a goal of 600 and expects to go over the top under the leadership of membership chairman Mrs. K. L. Jackson.

REGIONAL CONFERENCE: Pine Bluff, Arkansas: The first annual southwest regional NAACP conference was held March 13-14 with a large number of delegates in attendance from states in the area. Among speakers at various sessions were A. Maceo Smith, race relations advisor for FHA, who explained the conditions surrounding FHA loans; George Washington area supervisor for the public housing administration, who spoke briefly on public housing; Attorney W. Harold Flowers, who explained the Arkansas poll-tax as a pre-requisite for voting; and Mrs. J. E. Craft, who spoke on youth work in the region.

Donald Jones, regional secretary, discussed the fields of operation of the regional office. He emphasized that this conference is our first attempt to coordinate and activate our group of five states. Before closing Mr. Jones complimented the Hooks, Texas, branch for bringing twenty-eight delegates to the conference.

A. Maceo Smith gave examples of what is being done in Texas and the other four states in the area. He stated that in 1940 the Texas state conference through its executive committee has established a ten-year plan to secure the ballot and to eliminate segregation. He expressed his belief that a victory in the Sweatt case would completely eliminate segregation in education in Texas. Mr. Smith also spoke briefly on the Hearne and Sipuel cases. He told of Texas in 1936 with five branches and 1200 members. He also remarked on the difficulty of finding plaintiffs for education cases.

Amos T. Hall of Tulsa, Oklahoma, reviewed the Sipuel case for the benefit of the delegation. He then introduced Miss Sipuel who spoke on her effort to enter the University of Oklahoma. Her closing thought: "Make it a point of our philosophy that we are determined to make democracy a reality."

Gloster B. Current, director of branches, New York City, brought greetings from the national office to the conference delegation. He discussed the formation of the regional office and paid tribute to the regional secretary. He said that the setting up of the regional office was an experiment which was proceeding well.

RESOLUTIONS: Excerpts of resolutions adopted by the conference follow:

ACTION OF SOUTHERN GOVERNORS: We condemn the undignified and graceless stand taken by the southern governors in their effort to deny basic civil rights and fair employment to a large segment of our citizens; REGIONAL UNIVERSITIES: We are unequivocably opposed to bi-racialism as a solution of our educational problems, and the establishment of regional universities; RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS: We pledge to continue our fight against the evil of racially restrictive covenants; LOW RENT HOUSING: We favor low rent dwelling units; SEGREGATION IN ARMED FORCES: We are opposed to the racial segregation and discrimination which is now practiced in the armed forces of the United States; and we are unalterably opposed to any form of segregation and discrimination in government civilian employment.

The president of the Albuquerque, New Mexico, branch, Hobart La Grone, wrote the following open letter to Senator Chavez of New Mexico:

The Tribune Public Forum

Asks Sen. Chavez Stand On Army Segregation

An open letter to Sen. Chavez:

Dear Senator Chavez:

We have just read with astonishment that you took issue with Mr. Elliott Roosevelt, son of the late president Roosevelt, when he recently called upon President Truman to issue an executive order banning racial segregation in the armed forces.

Press Association

ALLIANCE GOSPEL TABERNACLE, *Birmingham, Ala., where police, in May, insisted that Senator Glen Taylor (D.-Idaho) would have to comply with local segregation laws. When Senator Taylor tried to enter the meeting (sponsored by the Southern Negro Youth Congress Convention) through the "Negro" entrance, he was manhandled and arrested by the police, and later fined $50 and put on six months' probation. Senator Taylor plans to appeal the decision.*

An excerpt from your clash with young Mr. Roosevelt appears in the current issue of the Pittsburgh Courier, wherein you challenge Mr. Roosevelt by stating, "Your father was in the White House for 13 years and he didn't issue any such order."

Many people in this state and in the nation, have been trying to convince themselves that you couldn't possibly have meant to condone and uphold the undemocratic practice of racial segregation in the armed services.

Many people in this state, and in the nation, have come to look upon you as a sort of champion for minorities. You have championed F. E. P. C. You've voted right on anti-poll tax, you've supported an increased minimum wage law and you have opposed union busting labor legislation. Are we to understand now that you would force a man because of his color to submit to a subhuman status, to offer up his life for his country?

Can't Volunteer

Has it ever occured to you that no Negro who believes in the American Credo of the freedom and dignity of the individual can volunteer for the armed services of his country. The Negro who volunteers must subscribe to the theory that he is sub-human that his life is not worth as much to his nation as the lives of others who so volunteer to serve. Scotch, Hindu, Irish, Japanese, Russian, Chinese, Pole, German and all others are integrated in the American armed services, only Negroes and dogs are set up in segregated units, and when the going gets tough the K-nines die with all units. Only Negroes die as pariahs.

The uniform that all others, citizen and alien alike, may wear proudly becomes for the Negro in these circumstances the very sack cloth of his abasement. His presence in that uniform means that he has foresworn all the things that make men feel proud and happy to serve their homeland. He is bound to feel that it is evidence that he accepts the subhuman status imposed upon him and that he is offering his life to uphold and perpetuate it. He knows that his country has tossed him a living sacrifice to appease the minority of fascists that set the pattern for his existence here.

Convince Him

His experiences following two wars fought for democracy, when he has returned home to mob violence, disfranchisement jim-crow and discrimination in education and employment have convinced him that there exists nowhere in the world today any greater threat to human freedom than is posed in these the foregoing breaches of the Democratic ideal and the continued appeasement of his government to the forces of bigotry and hate within the nation, in sending him forth to fight and die for its preservation as a pariah. No other civilized nation in the world follows this practice. Forestalling, here and now, the attempt at rationalization by some who would cite British and other colonial powers sending divisions etc. of colonial troops, I should like to point out that Negro residents of the British Isles, of France and other colonial powers are integrated in the armies of the homeland without regard to race or color.

We should like to decry here and now, the old saw, that white and Negroes could not be fused into an effective fighting unit. We would cite only the very recent admission of Negroes

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into organized baseball, which has certainly its proportion of disciples of bigotry and hate. For years it was said it couldn't possibly work, but when one man with democracy and guts enough hired a Negro and the president of his league handed down a directive that any discriminatory treatment meted out to this Negro by other players would be met with immediate discipline, the players acted as they knew they were expected to act. As for the team, it merely won the championship in its league.

DONALD JONES *(left), southwest regional secretary, and Attorney W. J. Durham of Dallas conferring with Ellis Hutson, Jr. See "Nacogdoches Slaying," page 184.*

Justifies Bigotry

When this government states that its army is to be made up of free men who are to be integrated in its services without regard to race, color or creed, and abolishes the vicious practice of sending one army of free men and one of slaves to fight for its preservation, its soldiers will act as they know their government expects them to act. As it now stands the government's appeasement to bigotry and undemocratic practices becomes the bigot's justification for bigotry.

We think you owe not only Negroes, but to the increasing millions of other decent Americans who feel the shame and inhumanity of sending men forth to die as slaves and pariahs to keep them free, an explanation of your stand. Do you believe in and advocate racial segregation in the armed services? If so how do you justify your stand in the light of freedom and democracy.

We address this open letter to you so that you and others may see our viewpoint and we stand open to conviction that your challenge to young Mr. Roosevelt did not mean your advocacy of segregation in the armed services.

Sincerely,
HOBART L. LA GRONE,
Pres. Albuquerque Branch N.A.A.C.P.

Book Reviews

AMERICAN SPEECHWAYS

***Supplement II: The American Language:* An Inquiry Into the Development of English in the United States. By H. L. Mencken. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. XIII+890+XLIIIpp. $7.50.**

It is quite possible that Mr. Mencken's compatriots will come to regard his well-nigh exhaustive study of their speechways as his most characteristic performance. For much of the author's earlier work, despite its frequent brilliance and always searching spirit of inquiry, now seems dated. In *The American Language* you get the quintessential Mencken; Mencken the boob-bumper, the great scoffer and flayer, the independent inquirer with his cynical levity; and what is really a paradox in America's greatest baiter of the professoriate, his *Deutsche Grundlichkeit* or German thoroughness; perhaps a trait to be expected in a lineal descendant of Doctors Otto, Burchard, and Lüder Mencken.

In a sense *The American Language* is Mr. Mencken's life work, since his interest in the subject dates from his Baltimore *Evening Sun* days (circa 1910) when he published his first article, "The Two Englishes," at the age of twenty-nine. His first extended piece on the subject appeared in the August, 1913, issue of the *Smart Set;* his first book, in 1919. And he has been hard at work tilling the field ever since, his book now being in its fourth edition. In fact, so vast is his material that he is now at the point where he issues supplements rather than revised editions. Yet he feels that the present supplement will probably be his last and tells why in this melancholy note:

> It is highly improbable that I'll ever attempt a Supplement III. . . . At my age a man encounters frequent reminders, some of them disconcerting, that his body is no more than a highly unstable congeries of the compounds of carbon. In order to avoid fretting about this unpleasant fact I have arranged that all my books, pamphlets, journals, newspaper clippings and letters on speech shall go, at my death, to a place where they will be open to other students. Meanwhile, I'll be glad as always to hear from such students, and ask them to address me at 1524 Hollins Street, Baltimore 23.

Supplement II, following the plan of Supplement I (1945), is an enlargement of Chapters VII-XI of the fourth edition of *The American Language* (1936) and deals with pronunciation, spelling, the grammar of common speech, proper names, and slang. Each of these topics is treated with wide learning, good sense, and, where the available evidence is inconclusive, an awareness of the complications and the multiple interpretations.

"American speech, on the whole, follows the spelling more faithfully than English speech, and is thus clearer and more precise," says Mr. Mencken. Sections are also given over to an examination of divergences in American pronunciation by states and regions. And this pungent comment on Negro speech should silence all believers in inherently racial speech-habits:

> The slaves, however, were not taught English by their white overlords but by the low-caste whites set over them as overseers and by the earlier comers of

On To Kansas City

More than 1,000 delegates from forty states are expected to attend sessions of the 39th annual conference of the NAACP, to be held in the St. Stephen Baptist church, northwestern corner of 15th street and The Paseo, Kansas City, Missouri, June 22-27, inclusive.

Among the conference speakers are Willard S. Townsend, international president of the United Transport Service Workers (CIO); Oscar Ewing, administrator of the Federal Security Agency; and Dr. Channing H. Tobias, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, who will receive the 33rd Spingarn medal June 27.

their own race. . . . The phonology of this mudsill Negro speech greatly resembles that of the lowest class of whites, so much so that many competent observers, among them Southerners, have declared that it is substantially identical, but my own belief, after a lifetime spent in contact with Negroes of all classes, is that in intonation, at least, it shows special characters. Even the educated Negro seldom loses this intonation, though in vocabulary and pronunciation his speech is identical with that of the corresponding class of whites. Indeed, he tends to speak a shade "better," in the schoolma'am's sense, than whites on his own level. . . .

American spelling like American pronunciation is much better than that of the English. And no small part of this superiority is due to the influence of Noah Webster's spelling book, which "was really stupendous." Mr. Mencken scoffs at simplified spelling and turns up by way of proof some simplified transmogrifications that are worse monstrosities than the spellings they attempt to replace. Believe it or not, but *pphoughtluipsh* is supposed in one system to be an improvement on *foolish*. "The argument that phonetic spelling would be easier to learn than the present spelling is not supported by the known facts. . . . No civilized language is really spelled phonetically, not even German, Spanish or Italian."

Some of the most edifying and amusing pages in the book are those devoted to American proper names. The author culls from his files such odd surnames of men as *Acid, Boop, By, Dumbell* and *Swill;* and among the given names for girls such wondrous appellations, to list a few, as *Alla Jo, Azuna, Blanka, Coita, Dicey Mae,* and *Glary Ann.* "Unusual surnames are rare among Negroes, though Barker calls attention to the fact that, as in the case with whites, they are relatively frequent among persons of distinction, *e. g., DuBois, Chesnutt, De Priest, Vann, Douglass, Hastie, Schuyler, Robeson, Bethune* and *Carver.*" He also notes the tendency in recent years to bestow nick-names on boys as given names as well as the use of the mere initials instead of names. There is also a long list of "English surnames with strange pronunciations": *Chumly* for Cholmondelay, *Anster* for Anstruther, *Barsom* for Barfreeston, *Geeky* for Geikie, *Reese* for Rhys, *Yawl* for Youghal, and so on.

Slang, which in the United States "is a catch-all for the inventions of various quite different classes of wits," is surveyed first historically and then by occupations. Mr. Mencken then lists slang for scattered groups, sixty-nine in all, from advertising agents to union men in general, including Pullman porters, taxi and bus drivers, tobacco-growers, and food-dispensers. "It would be hard to figure out precisely," he explains, "what makes one slang term survive for years and another perish quickly and miserably." However, the author does list some of the discernible "elements which may shape the process."

Whoever invented *rubberneck,* "if he could be discovered, would," says Mr. Mencken, "be worthy not only of a Harvard LL.D., but also of the thanks of both Rotary and Congress, half a bushel of medals, and thirty days as the husband of Miss America. *Blah* is another masterpiece . . . *Stooge* is yet another."

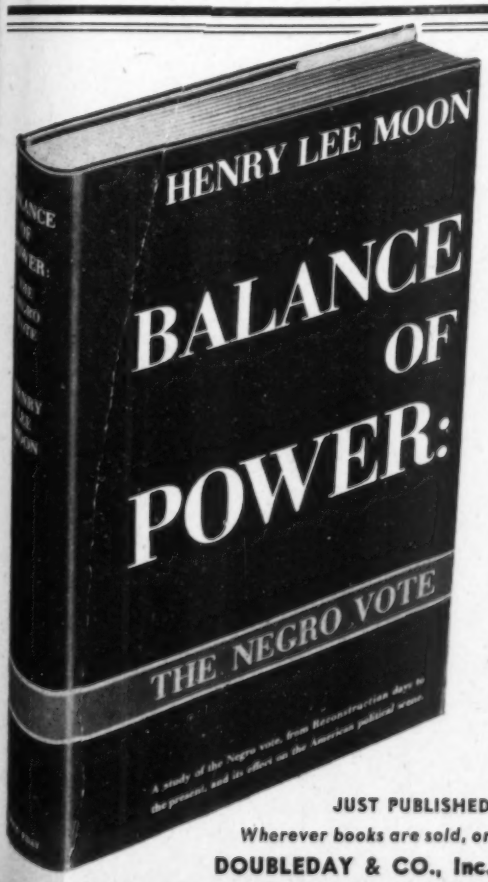
Like the major work of which it is an addendum, this supplement is based upon the twin-premise that language should be a study of what people actually say and write, not what the professors think people should say and write; and the belief that the only real linguistic authority is usage itself. This, naturally, makes grammatical praxis a much more complex affair than mere memorization of the dicta of the schools. It makes grammar take on the aspects of linguistic manners.

Here is a book of vast erudition, entertainly written with wit and humor by a master of English prose and of tremendous importance for every student of American linguistics. There is no study exactly like it in any other language.

J. W. I.

***Jadie Greenway.* By I. S. Young. New York: Crown Publishing Company, 1947. Pp. 250. $2.75.**

In *Jadie Greenway,* I. S. Young has developed perhaps the first comprehensive treatment of the adolescent Negro school girl living in the slum section of a great metropolitan center. This is the story of a sixteen-



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year-old whose mother, though having an affair with a roomer after the father of her two girls and a boy has gone away, nevertheless earns her living by prostitution. Consequently, Jadie, Milton, and Clara receive the most meagre meals and the minimum of normal instruction. Out of the squalor of such a home comes this girl whose life is traced in this novel.

This story is a broadside aimed at juvenile delinquency and written, one must conclude, by a man who has first-hand knowledge of conditions in Brooklyn. It points up the problems of the young teacher, man or woman, in dealing with maladjusted youngsters in their classes. Finally, it deals frankly with the factors in the general social situation which induce the kinds of problems which Jadies faces.

Jadie is not altogether real, though she is a realist. It is almost impossible to believe the innocence and gullibility of Jadie in view of her almost complete acquaintance with her environment. In spite of this, however, the over-all treatment is a salutary and fresh venture into an area of Negro life that has too long been neglected.

ARTHUR E. BURKE

WILLIAM JACKSON *and his friend Hubert Stapleton (left).*

Negro Vote In '48

(*Continued from page* 178)

ing by its American agents of the true nature of the Negro problem in America."

A treatment of the increasing collaboration of the Negro and organized labor, of the growth of Negro membership in trade unions and the political aid rendered by each to the causes of the other helps to outline the day, when with purely racial issues settled, Negro Americans will take their places in the voting population according to their economic interests.

Political Analysis

An analysis of political action in three centers, Detroit, Mich., Richmond, Va., and New York, N. Y., reveals the extent to which the race is translating into practicality the lessons which have been driven home over the years.

All in all, *Balance of Power* is the most important book on the Negro vote to appear in the last twenty years. Because he was a newspaper reporter, later identified with a New Deal agency, and still later with the Political Action Committee of the CIO, Mr. Moon has had an unparalleled opportunity not only to study Negroes in politics, but to watch the race in action. He is no professor, digging from books and charts and statistics a thesis on Negroes as voters; he has participated in much of the significant action since 1930 and therefore speaks with an authority not to be approximated by a mere observer. Negroes will find his book instructive and inspiring. Political party workers and candidates will find it a "must" if they hope to understand the motivation of Negro voters.

VELMA NOBLE *of Indio, Calif., who won first prize in her branch essay contest. See California branch item.*

An American Boy

(*Continued from page* 177)

write letters of recommendation for him in the hope that he will be awarded a scholarship which will enable him to go to college when he finishes high school. They realize that without a scholarship there will be little chance for him to continue his education despite his excellent scholastic record.

His father, a slim, distinguished-looking man, works as a cook at a low-priced, student-patronized restaurant in Columbia's "campus-town" section. His mother washes dishes at The Shack, another University student gathering place of the beer and hamburger variety.

When his mother broke her leg last fall and was unable to work, Bill and his brother, Harold, averted what might have resulted in a family financial crisis. They were getting up at five-thirty those mornings, and for the six weeks until she was well again, the two brothers took over Mrs. Jackson's job before they went to school in the morning. Now they have a regular Saturday job at The Shack, and thanks to them, Mrs. Jackson spends her Saturdays at home.

Never a man to rest on past laurels, Bill Jackson remains active in all the varied areas which touch his life.

His Versatility

When the fifty-three boys of his scout troop staged a variety show in order to pay for the transportation of its members to and from summer camp, Bill was in there pitching as usual.

He sang in the chorus and acted in a dialogue skit with scout-mate Leo Bennett. He took part in the sample presentations of the show's bill of fare to the university and the colleges of Columbia to push the sale of tickets. He helped make the show such a success that, in addition to playing two nights to capacity houses instead of the originally planned one-night stand, Troop 11 raised enough money to pay the dues of members who couldn't afford them; to buy ten extra tents; and to provide refreshments for a senior boys' social one night, and a weiner roast for the younger fry on the following night. And all this in addition to writing "mission accomplished" alongside their primary objective of paying their transportation costs for camp.

When a request for blood donors was made for a sixteen-year-old Negro girl at the Ellis Fischel State Cancer Hospital in Columbia, Bill responded not once, but twice.

When the summer camp for Negro

boy scouts at Mark Twain State Park in Florida, Missouri, wanted a colored staff member to work with eleven other white boys last summer, Bill fitted the role.

The rescue of the Glasgow children is still bringing him a lot of publicity for a sixteen-year-old boy. *Heroic Comics* magazine is planning to run his story in a forthcoming issue under their "Outstanding Boys" feature.

The rescue made possible his trip to New York and his exchange of autographs with Joe Louis. His picture appeared in *PM*. He was honored at the Scout National Court of Honor at the swank Waldorf-Astoria hotel by such world-famous men as His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman, Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd, and Mr. Bernard Baruch.

But Bill Jackson came home to Missouri after it was all over and said only, boy-like, that Columbia was "tame" by comparison.

Right now he is prouder of his recent jump from First Class to Star Scout, which is only two steps below his goal of Eagle, top class in scouting. "But," he adds proudly, "my brother, Harold, is a year younger than me, and he's the same rate. He's a Star Scout, too."

And maybe they're things like that, after all, which make his friends and teachers proudest of Bill Jackson, a truly outstanding American boy.

Spirit of Willkie

(*Continued from page* 173)

minorities. He gave us a warning five years ago which we would do well to remember in this election year. The politicians, bootlicking for delegates, won't.

"Minorities are rich assets of a democracy, assets which no totalitarian government can afford," Willkie said. "To suppress minority thinking would tend to freeze society and prevent progress. The human mind requires contrary expressions against which to test itself."

The "American Way" means different things to different men. Remember how Willkie put it? I'll quote it for you.

"Our way of living together in America," Willkie said, "is a strong but delicate fabric. It is made up of many threads. It has been woven over many centuries by the patience and sacrifices of countless liberty-loving men and women. It serves as a protection of poor and rich, of black and white, of Jew and gentile, of foreign and native-born. Let us not tear it asunder. For no man knows, once it is destroyed, where or when man will find its protective warmth again."

Wendell Willkie said that. Pity yourselves, my friends, that death came to him so long before his time.

Yes, Willkie, if he were alive today would, I am sure, be fighting the Thomas Committee and the excesses of the loyalty purges, not because to fight them would be popular in a political sense, but because to fight them would be right. And Willkie, I am afraid, would again be turned down by the little leaders in temporarily big positions who did not even want him for a delegate to the Republican National Convention of 1944. Once again, I am afraid, the people would be denied the chance to vote for him. For, in reaching for the Presidency, Willkie, as he always did, would have continued to reach and to attain to something higher—the clean honesty of a dauntless spirit.

And politicians just don't understand that.

Would that we had Willkie today. Can you imagine him ducking and dodging, pretending to be for the Marshall plan but sabotaging it with snide references to the need, don't you know, of protecting our own economy? Or by setting up conditions which cannot be met by Europe?

That great Republican newspaper, the New York *Herald Tribune*, warned weeks ago that the thing to fear was not a frontal attack on the European recovery program but flank attacks by men who give it lip service.

Future of Republicans

The Republican party might still have a great destiny as a national party. Certainly its reactionary senators and representatives are no more reactionary than are their Democratic colleagues of the South. Certainly its liberal Senators—Aiken of Vermont, Morse of Oregon, and Tobey of New Hampshire—are living in the tradition of another great senator who started out as a Republican, George Norris of Nebraska.

And Senator Baldwin of Connecticut, Flanders of Vermont, Saltonstall and Lodge of Massachusetts, and our own Irving Ives of New York, to name a few, are not too far behind to be respected as forward-looking legislators.

No one could ask, either, for a more progressive congressman than New York City's Jack Javits. But the Tafts and the Brickers and the Wherrys and Butlers and the Curly Brookes are powerful.

So, I warn my party not to tear the heart out of the Marshall Plan. The people, short-sighted temporarily, may put Republicans in office next November even if they do scuttle the European recovery program by emasculating it. The people may elect a Republican president next November if Republican reactionaries and Southern Democratic bourbons have guessed right politically in assailing civil liberties in these times of fear.

But somehow I don't think the people fool that easy. Not all of them anyway.

If the Republican party in Congress fails to follow Vandenberg in foreign policy, if there is named as candidate for president a man who wraps himself in the pages of the Taft-Hartley Act and gives only lip service to the great social problems of the day such as education, health and housing, I know all of us won't be fooled.

We independents, as we have done before, will place country above party and vote our conscience rather than our prejudices.

And leading us on, no matter what our party, will be the spirit of Wendell Willkie, who lived in the clean white light of honesty, and dying, lived on in our hearts and in our minds.

Courage and Faith

(*Continued from page* 172)

friendships with other boys and girls superficially different from themselves that will make prejudice an emotional impossibility? Probably it is too soon to answer. Perhaps this is an answer for which it is well-nigh impossible to collect the data. But these things are true. The children like the camp and their associates there. They come back again and again. One-half of the campers are repeaters. They get together during the winter. They have a basis of actual experience on which to stand when combatting prejudice. When several campers were confronted in their winter school with the argument by other students that Negroes and whites shouldn't be employed in the same office, as they couldn't get along together, the boys answered with the assurance of those who have personal knowledge, "But we lived in a tent all last summer with four white fellows and three colored and we got along swell."

Perhaps this is a method of fighting for our way of life, for our very existence, that is worth trying. There may be more than childish wisdom in the little girl who asked, "Why don't we live like this in the city?" and added, "If we did we wouldn't need this camp."

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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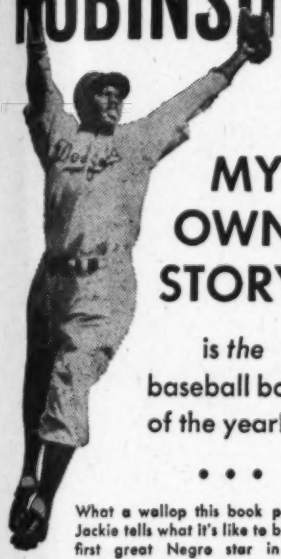

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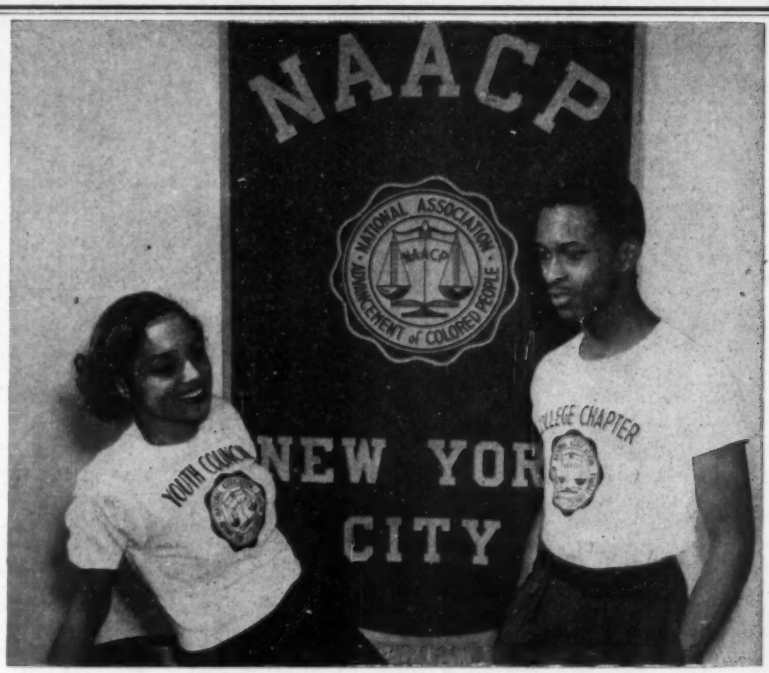

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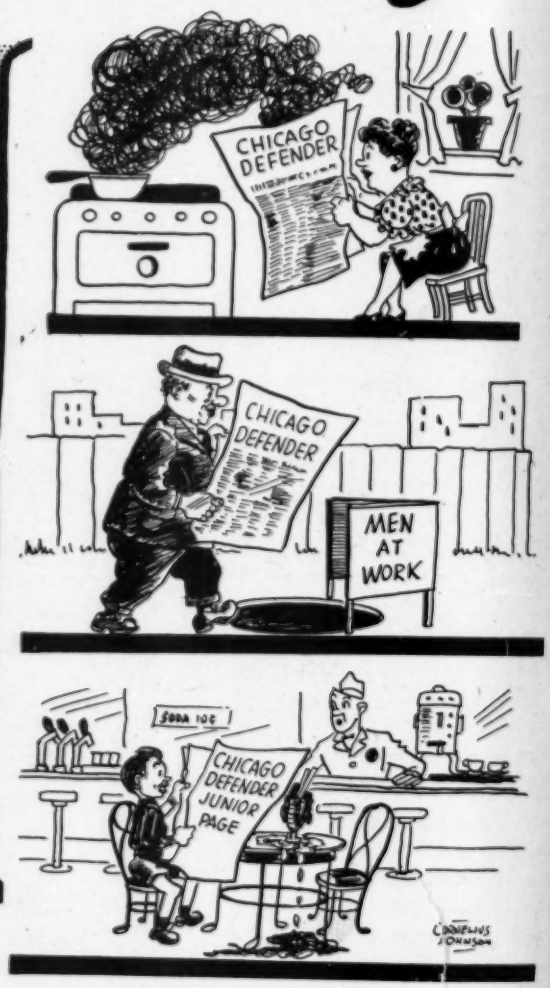

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